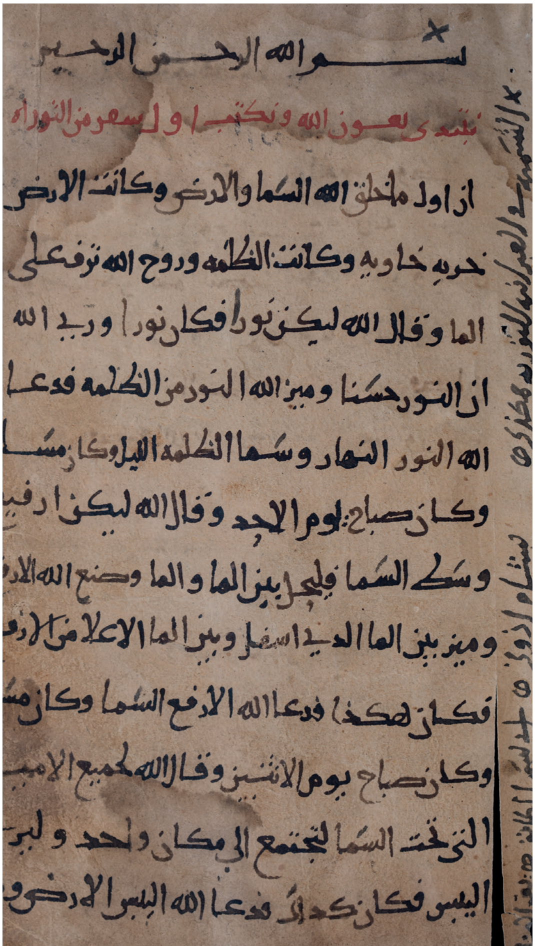
Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch

A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources

Ronny Vollandt



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By

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Contents

Preface

This book presents a fresh investigation into Arabic versions of the Pentateuch. It is no exaggeration to speak of this field as a *terra* that is in many respects almost *incognita*.[1] Arabic translations of the Bible were produced over many centuries, from a wide range of source languages, and in varying contexts. They were used in the liturgy, studied, copied, and transmitted by different communities—Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian, in their various denominations. In addition, some medieval Muslim authors evinced great interest in them. Biblical narratives derived from the "People of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*) and given Arabic garb, resound in the Qurʾān and early Muslim literature, though direct quotations are conspicuously absent. On the other hand, the emergence of Arabic translations of the Jewish and Christian Bible may be considered as a counterpoint to the Arabic Scripture of Islam to some extent. As is the case for other ancient versions, it is misleading to speak of *the* Arabic Bible. Any manuscript copy of a collection of biblical books in Arabic is likely to be an amalgam, of which each section has a long and separate textual history. It is a relatively unknown fact that Arabic versions far outnumber all other known translation traditions. Another important characteristic is their great mobility. For example, Saadiah's originally Judaeo-Arabic *Tafsīr* was adopted by Samaritan, Syriac-Orthodox, and Coptic communities. A translation of East-Syriac provenance, designated **Arab^{Syr}2** in this study, was borrowed by the Syriac-Orthodox Church but also circulated among the Mozarabs of Spain. In the course of diffusion from one contemporary cultural context to another, texts were often significantly transformed and adapted to the receptor community. But changes also occurred in diachronic transmission. Older registers of Arabic may not have been understood by later copyists and readers. The same is true for the specific translation language, which at times was modeled on a strict and uncompromising formal equivalence to the source language as a didactic technique and often had rules of its own. These features were habitually subject to modifications. Thus plurality and variability constitute the dominant trait of this genre.

Biblical accounts in Arabic assume different shapes. Some were transmitted and alluded to in an islamicized form in the Qurʾān and other branches of Muslim literature. Short passages were collected as proof-texts in polemical

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1 In the pregnant phrase of Bengt Knutsson, *Studies in the Text and Language of Three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Judicum, with Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements: Introductions, Linguistic Notes, Text*s (Leiden: Brill, 1974): xi.

tracts. Portions of biblical books were included in lectionaries or commentaries. This study, however, is restricted to continuous translations. The textual evidence is drawn from a corpus of about 150 manuscripts, containing the entire Pentateuch in Arabic or parts thereof. Sections of the Pentateuch found in lectionaries were excluded from this study, as were translated passages in biblical commentaries.

The first step was to locate and identify the manuscripts by sifting through library catalogues and the secondary literature. Particularly useful was Graf's five-volume *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–1949). Most of the manuscripts used in this study are now found in European collections, including the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the British Library in London, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. As for Middle Eastern collections, I was able to include the holdings of St. Catherine's monastery at Mount Sinai, the Coptic Museum in Cairo, and the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate (via the microfilms made by the Center for the Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts, Brigham Young University).

Most of these codices are limited to the Pentateuch, but some contain only part of it or include other books of the Old or New Testament as well. Although it was not an uncommon practice to gather related books in a single manuscript—such as the Wisdom books or the Prophets—there are few codices of the entire Bible in Arabic. They are notably late and seem to have emerged only in response to the printed Bibles of Europe.

After the manuscripts were obtained in reproductions or consulted *in situ*, the next step was to group the different versions. After an initial classification according to their *Vorlagen*, each version was grouped into subcategories. Each translation tradition was then allocated a *siglum* (for a comprehensive description of each tradition, including its manuscripts, see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts). For example, **Arab^{Syr}1** refers to the first version rendered from a Syriac *Vorlage*. The second was consequently called **Arab^{Syr}2**, and so forth. Because a given translation may be extant in different recensions, a further differentiation was noted by means of lowercase letters. **Arab^{Heb}1a** designates Syriac-Orthodox adaptations of Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, whereas **Arab^{Heb}1b** those of Coptic provenance. Given that quite a few codices merge texts from diverse sources, codicological units do not always correspond to textual units. This meant that the classification had to be carried out for each book of the Pentateuch separately. It was also necessary to pay attention to later replacement sections, which frequently exhibit a different text type than the older parts of a codex.

With regard to most traditions, contextualizing evidence is sketchy at best or lacking altogether. The manuscripts generally dispense with introductions that could reveal the identity of translators or their translational approaches—unlike the situation with al-Ḥārith's or Saadiah's version of the Pentateuch, for example (for details, see Chapter 3). Such evidence had to be gleaned from the manuscripts themselves. The codicological data for each translation tradition was collected meticulously (and is presented in Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts). The identity of the copyists, where they worked and why, where the manuscripts traveled and when, and who owned them, are valuable indications for establishing the emergence and dissemination of the traditions they contain. How far variations reflect a particular perception of the text and a conscious or unconscious adjustment to the scribe's environment and needs (and thus represent an entire community of contemporary readers) has been of paramount importance for a study of their transmission. Marginalia, such as comments or indications of variant readings, provide insight into how the translations were studied and thus provide at least some clues about their *Sitz im Leben*.

The present work, therefore, can in no sense aspire to be the definitive treatment of its topic; but sufficient progress has been made since the existing summaries (e.g. by Georg Graf, see below) were written to justify a new stocktaking. Most of my research may be characterized as philological groundwork. The purpose of this book is to reevaluate the central role played by the Arabic Pentateuch among Jews, Christians, and Muslims. It falls into two parts. The first part is descriptive in nature. It presents the linguistic background and reviews the available manuscript sources and contextualizing evidence.

Chapter One surveys previous scholarship on Arabic versions of the Bible. Several approaches to the field, from medieval to early-modern and eventually contemporary research, are outlined.

Chapter Two deals with the process of arabicization. It summarizes how the Christian, Jewish, and Samaritan communities in Iraq, Syria-Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa adopted Arabic for most of their written and oral communications. Aramaic, Greek, and Coptic, the three main languages in use prior to that, were supplanted by Arabic. For most of the communities, the older languages became a scholastic medium that had to be learned. The chapter provides an approximate indication for the date of emergence of Arabic translations of the Bible, which must have followed soon after that linguistic shift in order to meet communal needs for elucidation of the text in the vernacular.

Chapter Three surveys the entire genre of biblical translations into Arabic. It opens with the question of the existence of Arabic translations before the

rise of Islam or during its early formative centuries. Documentary reports by early-medieval Muslim authors, such as the bibliographical accounts in al-Masʿūdī's *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf* or Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, are scrutinized. The earliest attested attempts to render parts of the Bible into Arabic by Melkite, West- and East-Syriac, Coptic, Mozarabic, Jewish, and finally Samaritan communities are presented. The discussion draws on recent publications and on a study of the corpus of Pentateuch manuscripts referred to above. Biographical evidence about their translators is adduced when available. Each section notes characteristic traits of the various traditions and provides some insights as to their *Sitz im Leben* and transmission history.

Chapter Four looks into Pentateuch quotations in Muslim literature. Phrases, such as "I read/found in the Torah" have been held to be a literary *topos*, and the possibility that a written Arabic translation could have served Muslim scholars as *Vorlage* for their citations had been ruled out by many. The chapter revisits this assumption with regard to the works of ʿAlī ibn Rabban, Ibn Qutayba, al-Ṭabarī, and Ibn Ḥazm. Its purpose is twofold: in addition to the importance for the study of Muslim reception of the Bible, identifying these quotations and comparing them to attested manuscript traditions furnishes significant evidence about the emergence of Arabic translations of the Pentateuch, especially with regard to their date.

The history of the Arabic Pentateuch in print is the focus of Chapter Five. The technical advancement of *philologia sacra* that followed the introduction of movable type soon included Arabic versions of the Bible as well. The inclusion of these texts in this new discipline produced some of the most splendid monuments of this new scholarly discipline. Four distinct projects are included in the early period of printing the Arabic Pentateuch: the Constantinople Polyglot of Eliezer Soncino (1546); Erpenius' *Pentateuchus Mosis Arabicè* (1622); the Arabic portions of the Paris Polyglot (1628–45), which were reprinted in the London Polyglot (1653–57); and the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (1671–73). The chapter traces the emergence of these editions and introduces their initiators and collaborators and the manuscript sources. Finally, Chapter Six summarizes the first and descriptive part of the study.

Part Two is analytical and examines one translation tradition in greater depth. **Arab^{Syr}1** was chosen for a linguistic and exegetical study of selected chapters of the Pentateuch, because it is the earliest attested Arabic version and therefore of great interest for the emergence of the genre. Chapter Seven offers a detailed description of manuscripts that contain **Arab^{Syr}1**, with a brief codicological analysis, notes on orthography and vocalization, and text-critical observations to place the manuscripts discussed in the larger context of their transmission. The textual affinities of **Arab^{Syr}1** are discussed, including

remarks on the character of the Syriac manuscript that formed the basis of the translation and on the influence of other versions. This is followed by a look at the chapter divisions found in this tradition.

Chapter Eight presents a comprehensive analysis of the translation technique of **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$1**. It is divided into sections on syntax, vocabulary, particles, and style, including comparisons with other translation traditions of both Christian-Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic provenances. In particular, the deep studies of Judaeo-Arabic translations, notably Meira Polliack's *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation*, served as a valuable model for my own research. Chapter Nine summarizes the findings of Part Two.

There are two appendices. The first consists in a comprehensive inventory of manuscripts. It is complementary to the discussion in Chapter Three and describes the various manuscripts on which this study is based. I hope that this survey of the primary sources, with a detailed codicological description of the manuscripts, will contribute to further research in the field. The second gives a list of the chapter divisions of **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$2** and **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$3**.

Like all research, this study has its limitations. Given the vast and largely unstudied ocean of primary manuscript sources, it is obvious that the mapping of traditions, as presented in Chapter Three, must be only a first exploration. It is self-evident that the short surveys of each translation tradition capture merely preliminary (though well-grounded) conclusions, which require a fuller and in-depth analysis. A detailed investigation of each translation tradition, similar to what I present in Part Two in regard to **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$1**, as well a comprehensive comparison of the translation techniques of the several versions, would have taken a decade of study. I have presented my own observations as tendencies and claim no completeness for the inventory of manuscripts. Additional manuscripts will most certainly be discovered in the future and expand or possibly modify our current knowledge in the field.

To prevent confusion, manuscripts are identified by their location, institution, collection and shelf-mark (e.g. Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 1), rather than according to catalogues. Arabic quotations are adduced directly as found in the manuscripts. Similarly, older orthographies of European languages (German, Italian, and French) have been retained. For the Arabic, full diacriticals have been supplied for the benefit of the reader, even if they are lacking in the source text. I have also occasionally vocalized difficult forms for the purpose of clarity. Readings are therefore to a certain degree dependent on my conjecture. I tried to give the folio number whenever possible. In some manuscripts, however, such as Sinai, MS Ar. 2, which is extensively quoted in Part Two of this study, the folio numbers were illegible on the microfilm. My abbreviations are largely self-explanatory. To indicate the different calendar systems, I have used CE

(Common Era), AM (Era of the Martyrs), and AH (Hijra). GCAL refers to Georg Graf's *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* and CMR to *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2009–2013).

Abbreviations:

BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	British Library
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
COP	Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
RNL	National Library of Russia

Acknowledgements

This study is a reworked version of my Ph.D. dissertation, "Christian-Arabic Translations of the Pentateuch from the 9th to 13th Centuries: A Comparative Study of Manuscripts and Translation Techniques," which I completed and defended at the University of Cambridge in 2011. Although the text has been revised with a broader readership in mind, it retains on the whole the characteristics of a dissertation. It is my own work and includes no products of collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text. It could not have been produced without the generosity of the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst, the European Rothschild Foundation, the AHRC, the Kurt Hahn Trust, the Bibliographical Society, the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Cambridge, and St John's College, which funded my three years of doctoral research.

The aim of my book is to reintegrate the Arabic versions of the Pentateuch into the academic discourse and demonstrate how different disciplines may benefit from a basic scholarly investigation of these texts. This book is equally situated in the disciplines of Arabic and Judaic Studies, as well as the Study of the Eastern Churches. The path to its final completion was a humbling experience in many ways. When I set foot on the vast and largely unstudied ground of Arabic versions of the Pentateuch, I discovered that new and untrodden areas of research opened up much faster than old ones could be closed. Thanks are due to many colleagues and friends who have encouraged and accompanied this study through its various stages. I am particularly grateful to my supervisor Geoffrey Khan for his dedicated guidance, personal encouragement, and valuable insights. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala and Robert Gordon, my examiners, for their useful remarks. The Genizah Research Unit at the Cambridge University Library and its staff provided me with much support. During the process of turning the dissertation into a book I received valuable comments and advice from Camilla Adang, Meira Polliack, Sabine Schmidtke, Lenn Schramm, Gregor Schwarb, and Alexander Treiger.

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and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Rome). The careful examination of manuscripts on which this book rests would not have been possible without their assistance. Also Kristian Heal (Center for the Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts) and Columba Stewart (Hill Museum & Manuscript Library) have made accessible to me many manuscripts in their collections and I thank them for this.

Above all, I wish to express my gratitude to my parents, Martina and Wilfried Vollandt. Dedicating this book to them is too meager an appreciation of their constant and loving support.

List of Illustrations

PART 1

CHAPTER 1

Previous Scholarship: Concerns and Limitations

The history of biblical translations in Arabic—their emergence, characteristics, and historical-cultural backdrop—remains largely uncharted. Only a handful of the many extant manuscripts have been the objects of scholarly examination. In contrast to the situation for other languages, there is no comprehensive bibliography of Arabic versions and very few critical editions. Both an inventory of the manuscripts and serious studies are a scholarly *desideratum*. The Graeco-Arabic translation movement in ʿAbbāsid Baghdad, which made a large number of Greek scientific and philosophical texts accessible to the Arabic-speaking world, has elicited much scholarly interest and continues to do so.[1] We know quite a bit about the individuals involved, their names and biographies, their patrons' names, their working environments, and the texts they produced. Circumstantial information is available about their method of translation. Their translations have been thoroughly compared to the Greek originals and the previous Syriac translations they sometimes employed. But the polyglot scholars, some of whom also took part in the translation of scientific and philosophical texts and went on to produce Arabic versions of their culturally distinctive Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, and Coptic biblical and liturgical corpora, have remained in the dark.

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century biblical scholarship, in particular, was unfavorably disposed to the study of biblical versions in Arabic. De Lagarde wrote that "there are more Arabic translations of the Gospels than theologians pressed with more urgent priorities can care about. Their value is comparatively limited."[2] In the same vein, Nestle, in the *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, conjectured that Arabic versions "are not worth much for biblical criticism and exegesis, because, with only minor exceptions,

1 A comprehensive bibliography on the Graeco-Arabic translation movement is beyond the scope of the present work. Readers are referred to Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ʿAbbasid Society* (*2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries*) (London: Routledge, 1998).

2 "Arabische übersetzungen der evangelien giebt es mehr, als der mit drängenden arbeiten überhäuften theologie lieb sein kann, ihr werth ist verhältnissmässig gering [sic!]" (de Lagarde, *Die vier Evangelien Arabisch* [Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1864]: iii).

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they are secondary translations."[3] Margoliouth called them "of the slightest possible importance."[4] Tregelles added: "The Arabic versions existing in MS. exhibit very various forms: it appears as if alterations had been made in the different countries in which they had been used; hence it appears an endless task to discriminate amongst them precisely."[5] Writing in 1957, Roberts had no doubt that biblical translations in Arabic are "at most of secondary value for the study of the biblical text."[6]

These negative verdicts are all the more surprising when we consider that the study of these versions was widespread both in the Middle Ages and in early modern times. The *Tafsīr* of Saadiah Gaon (882–942 CE), for example, the standard version of Arabophone Rabbanite communities for much of the Middle Ages, was subjected to close scrutiny and occasional severe criticism by its readers. In his *Kitāb istidrāk al-sahw al-mawjūd fī kutub ra'́s al-mathība al-Fayyūmī* ("The Book of correcting the inattentiveness found in the books of al-Fayyūmī, the head of the yeshiva"), Mubashshir ha-Levi deals with some of Saadiah's lexical choices.[7] Placing the *Tafsīr* within the larger intellectual context of his time, Mubashshir notes that Saadiah's decision to render the biblical verb *rā'āh* "see" as *ʿalima* "know," in the first chapter of Genesis, must be meant as a direct refutation of the Khurāsānī heretic Ḥayōy al-Balkhī (more widely known as Ḥīwī).[8]

3 "Für die Biblische Kritik und Exegese haben sie nur wenig Wert, da sie mit wenigen Ausnahmen Tochterübersetzungen sind" (Eberhard Nestle, "Bibelübersetzungen, arabische," in *Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed. [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'schen Buchhandlung, 1897], 3: 90–95).

4 As quoted in Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968): 267.

5 S.P. Tregelles, "Arabic Versions," in *A Dictionary of the Bible Comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1893), 3: 1614–1616.

6 "... bestenfalls nur von zweitrangigem Wert für die Untersuchung des Bibeltextes" (Bleddyn J. Roberts, in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, 3rd ed. [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1957] 1: cols. 1200–1201).

7 Mubashshir ben Nisi ha-Levi, *Kitāb Istidrāk al-Sahw al-Mawjūd fī Kutub Ra's al-Mathība al-Fayyūmī: Hasagōt ʿal Rav Saʿadyah Gaōn* (*A critique against the writings of R. Saadya Gaon*), ed. and trans. Moshe Zucker (New York: n.p., 1955).

8 Ibid., 21 (trans., 73). On Ḥayōy, see Moshe Gil, *Ḥivi ha-balkhi: The Khurasani Atheist* (Merḥavyah: Sifriyat poʿalim, 1965) (Hebrew); Saadiah Gaon: *Saadia's Polemic against Hiwi Al-Balkhi: A Fragment Edited from a Genizah MS,* ed. and trans. Israel Davidson (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1915).

The treatise known as the "Book of the Responses of Dunash ben Labraṭ to Rabbi Saadiah Gaon," composed in the late tenth or early eleventh century, contains many criticisms of the Gaon's translation. Its author, according to an acrostic in the text, was the otherwise unknown Adoniah.[9] Judah ben Quraysh (first half of the tenth century) criticizes Saadiah's habit of avoiding literal translations of anthropomorphic descriptions of God and quotes the well-known dictum that "the Torah speaks in human language."[10] Later, Jonah Ibn Janāḥ (ca. 990–1050), Judah Ibn Balʿam (ca. 1000–1070), and Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164) frequently refer to Saadiah's translation and comment upon it.[11] Later we encounter Issachar ben Shushan, active in sixteenth-century Safed.[12] In the preface to *al-Sharḥ al-sūsānī li-khamsat juzʾ al- tawrāt* ("Ben Shushan's translation of the five books of the Torah"), which draws extensively on Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, he informs readers that many contemporary scholars are hard-pressed to understand the Gaon's version. This is why he deemed it necessary to clarify and gloss difficult passages in Saadiah's translation. A similar

9 The attribution to Dunash ben Labrat has always been doubtful. See Nathan Porges, "Ueber die Echtheit der dem Dunasch ben Labrat zugeschriebenen Kritik gegen Saadia," in Marcus Braun and Ferdinand Rosenthal, eds., *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann* (Breslau: S. Schottlaender, 1900): 245–259; idem, "Zur Frage der Echtheit von Dunasch's Kritik gegen Saadia," *MGWJ* 46 (1902): 142–153; Simon Eppstein, "Studien über Dunasch's Kritik gegen Saadia," *MGWJ* 46 (1902): 62–83; idem, "Noch ein Wort über die Echtheit von Dunasch's Kritik gegen Saadia," *MGWJ* 46 (1902): 533–536; and Michael Wilensky, "Who Was the Author of the Criticism against Saadia (*teshuvōt*)?," *JQR* 24 (1934): 209–216. It has now been convincingly refuted by Rayah Hazon, "On the Authorship of the 'Responses' to Saadia and to Menahem," M.A. thesis, Tel Aviv University, 1995 (Hebrew); eadem, "The Linguistical Theory of the Author of the "Responses" to Saadia," Ph.D. dissertation, Tel Aviv University, 2005 (Hebrew).

10 Dan Becker, *The Risāla of Judah ben Quraysh* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1984).

11 The *Tafsīr* constituted one of the sources of Ibn Janāḥ's *Kitāb al-uṣūl.* See Wilhelm Bacher, *Leben und Werke des Abuwalîd Merwân ibn Ğanâḥ* (*R. Jona*) *und die Quellen seiner Schrifterklärung* (Leipzig: O. Schulze, 1885). Saadiah is often cited in Judah Ibn Balʿam's *Kitāb al-tarjīḥ*, usually introduced by *al-mufassir.* See Salomon Fuchs, *Studien über Abu Zakaria Jachja* (*R. Jehuda*) *ibn Balâm* (Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1893). On Ibn Ezra's use of Saadianic material, see Yitzhaq Avishur, "The Attitude of R. Avraham ibn Ezra to the Translation and Commentary of R. Saadiah Gaon," in F. Díaz Esteban, ed., *Abraham ibn Ezra y su Tiempo* (Madrid: Asociación Española de Orientalistas, 1990): 17–24.

12 For details on Issachar ben Shushan's composition, see David Doron, "On the Arabic Translation of the Torah by Issachar ben Susan Hammaʿravi" *Sefunot,* NS 3 (1985): 279–298 (Hebrew). The preface was published in Solomon David Sassoon, *Ohel Dawid: Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 1: 63–68.

lament on the incomprehensibility of Saadiah's lofty register in Arabic can be found in the preface to the Judaeo-Arabic translation of Genesis by Mordechai Ḥai Diyyan (Tunisia, second half of the nineteenth century).[13]

Following the example set by Origen's *Hexapla*, comparative study of different versions of the biblical text was an established practice in the Eastern Churches. Both West-Syriac (e.g. Jacob of Edessa, 633–708) and East-Syriac (e.g. Ishōʿdad of Merv, second half of the ninth century) authors compare biblical versions and even include references to the Masoretic Text.[14] Moreover, the multilingual monasteries of the Sketis Desert in Egypt produced a number of polyglot Bible manuscripts. A ninth-century book of Psalms in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic, in facing columns, is preserved in Moscow (State Library, MS 432).[15] Several additional manuscripts produced in the same manner at a later date are also extant: Vatican, BAV, MS Barberini Or. 2 contains the Psalms in Geʿez, Syriac, Coptic-Bohairic, Arabic, and Armenian, set out in five columns.[16] Various sections of the New Testament in different languages are found in Milan, Ambrosian Library, MS Eth. 6; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Copt. c.2; and London, BL, MS Or. 1240. Special mention should be made of Cambridge, University Library, MS Or. 929, a tetraglot psalter in Arabic, Syriac (*Syro-Hexapla*), Hebrew (the Masoretic Text), and Greek.[17] The Hebrew column and many interlinear and marginal notes serve as a corrective apparatus to the translations. As Brock points out, the main purpose of the Cambridge Polyglot seems to have been to juxtapose the *Syro-Hexapla* with its Hebrew *Vorlage* for text-critical purposes.

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13 See David Doron, "R. Mordechai Ḥai Diyyan's Introduction to his Arabic Translation of Genesis" *Mi-Mizraḥ u-mi-Maʿarav* 6 (1995): 131–160 (Hebrew).

14 See Alison Salvesen, "Jacob of Edessa's Knowledge of Hebrew," in Ada Rapoport-Albert and Gillian Greenberg, eds., *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts. Essays in Memory of Michael Weitzmann* (Sheffield: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2002): 457–467; eadem, "Hexaplaric Readings in Išoʿdad of Merv's Commentary on Genesis," in Judith Frishman and Lucas van Rompay, eds., *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation. A Collection of Essays* (Leuven: Peeters, 1997): 229–252.

15 N. Pigulevskaya, "Greko-siro-arabskaya rukopis' IX veka" [A Greek-Syriac-Arabic Manuscript of the Ninth Century], *Palestinskii Sbornik* 63 (1954): 59–90.

16 For facsimiles, see Eugene Tisserant, *Specimina Codicum Orientalium* (Bonn: A. Marcus et E. Weber, 1914): xlvii, pl. 80; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Il Libro della Biblia. Esposizione di Manuscritti e di Edizioni a Stampa della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana dal Secolo III al Secolo XVI* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1972): 49, pl. 45.

17 Sebastian Brock, "A Fourteenth-century Polyglot Psalter," in Gerald E. Kadish and Geoffrey E. Freeman, eds., *Studies in Philology in honour of Ronald James Williams. A Festschrift* (Toronto: SSEA Publication. 1982): 1–15.

Medieval Coptic scholars were the first to engage in the synoptic examination of Arabic versions of the Bible. It had not escaped their attention that the Arabic translations were based on different *Vorlagen*, each with its own internal textual history and variations. In 1252, al-Asʿad Abū al-Faraj Hibatallāh ibn al-ʿAssāl produced a critical revision of the Arabic Gospels that were in use among the Copts.[18] He belonged to the al-ʿAssāl family, known for its linguistic and exegetical endeavors and compilations of ecclesiastical materials.[19] His revision was prompted by the wish to establish a linguistically improved and textually reliable version of the Gospels in Arabic, with appended critical notes on the Coptic source text. He collated variant readings from multiple Arabic versions translated from the Greek, Coptic, and Syriac. The translations made it possible for him to understand biblical texts that would have been mostly unintelligible to him in the original. Al-Asʿad noted the variants among them in the margins of his text by a set of marks, called *ʿalāmāt* "sigla" in Arabic.[20] His apparatus was fairly elaborate: the letter /*sīn*/ indicates readings from the Syriac (Arab. *suryānī*), /*rāʾ*/ from the Greek (Arab. *rūmī*), and /*qāf*/ from the Coptic (Arab. *qibṭī*). Al-Asʿad also used these in combination to mark concurrent readings in different versions (e.g. /*qāf sīn rāʾ*/ occurring in Coptic, Syriac, and Greek). The method of text-critical *ʿalāmāt* was not invented by al-Asʿad.

18 See Wadīʿ Abullif, "al-Asʿad Ibn al-ʿAssal, Introduzioni alla Traduzione dei Quattro Vangeli," *Studia Orientalia Christiana* 34 (2006): 47–120; idem, *Dirāsa ʿan al-Muʾtamin b. al-ʿAssāl wa-kitābihi "majmūʿ uṣūl al-dīn" wa-taḥqīqihi* (Cairo and Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1997); Samir Khalil Samir, "La Version Arabe des Evangiles d'al-Asʿad Ibn al-ʿAssāl. Étude des Manuscrits et Spécimens," in idem, ed., *Actes du 4e Congrès International d'études Arabes Chrétiennes* (*Cambridge, Septembre 1992*) (Kaslik: Université Saint-Esprit, 1994): 441–551; Duncan B. Macdonald, "Ibn al-ʿAssāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels," in Eduardo Saavedra, ed., *Homenaje á D. Francisco Codera en su Jubilación del Profesorado* (Zaragoza: M. Escar, 1904): 375–392; Kenneth E. Bailey, "Hibat Allah Ibn al-ʿAssāl and his Arabic Thirteenth-century Critical Edition of the Gospels (with special attention to Luke 16:16 and 17:10)," *Theological Review* 1 (1978): 11–26. A critical edition of al-Asʿad's translation is currently being prepared by Samuel Moawad.

19 On the ʿAssālides, see Georg Graf, "Die koptische Gelehrtenfamilie der Aulād al-ʿAssāl und ihr Schrifttum," *Orientalia* 1 (1932): 34–56, 129–48, 93–204; Alexis Mallon, "Ibn al-ʿAssâl. Les trois écrivains de ce nom," *Journal Asiatique* 5 (1905): 509–529; idem, "Une école de savants égyptiens au Moyen-Âge," *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* 1 (1906): 109–131; 2 (1907): 213–264; and, more recently, with much new material, Abullif, *Dirāsa ʿan al-Muʾtamin.*

20 On the use of these *ʿalāmāt* in Copto-Arabic Bible manuscripts to note variant readings and on how far these "primitive" apparatuses could be called a predecessor of *Variantenkritik* in modern textual criticism, see my "The Arabic Bible and Medieval Predecessors of Biblical Criticism," forthcoming.

Origen's aforementioned *Hexapla* was equipped with sigla to indicate variants from the Greek versions of the Three: Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. This habit is followed also in the *Syro-Hexapla*, which in fact preserves the hexaplaric marginalia in a much fuller way than any Greek manuscript. Aquila's translation is represented by /*alpha*/ in Greek or /*ʾālap̄*/ in Syriac; Symmachus by /*sigma*/ or /*semkaṯ*/, and Theodotion by /*thēta*/ or /*taw*/. At times, when the readings of all three are the same, the siglum /*gamma*/ (/*gāmal*/ in Syriac), that is the Greek numeral three, is used. Other versions or sources are abbreviated in various ways depending on the source.[21] A similar system was employed in Islamic scholarship and commonly used to represent different transmitters in the Ḥadīth, science, grammar, and astronomy.[22] Al-Asʿad also added grammatical notes and text-critical observations in the margins. For instance, at Luke 20:20 al-Asʿad noted that the opening phrase "and so they watched him" is missing in the Syriac but found in some Coptic and Greek manuscripts.[23] Variant readings, additions in, and omissions by the Coptic are also marked, though in a less elaborate fashion, in the margins of Vienna, ÖNB, MS N.F. 97, which contains an Arabic translation of the Gospels.[24]

An Arabic Psalter, London, BL, MS Arund. Or. 15, reflects a similar enterprise. It has a system of sigla, set off against the main text by red ink, and notes that constitute an interlinear and marginal text-critical apparatus. The margins of some Coptic-Arabic bilingual manuscripts of the Pentateuch offer illustrations

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21 The system of hexaplaric marginalia deserves further research. For an overview, however, the reader is referred to Anthony Grafton and Megan Hale Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), which includes the fullest bibliography on the subject.

22 Known authorities are indicated by the letters /*ḥāʾ*/ for al-Ḥamawī, /*khāʾ*/ for al-Bukhārī, /*dāl*/ for Abū Dāʾūd, /*sīn*/ for al-Sarakhsī, etc. See Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts. A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009): 271–274; idem, "Taxonomy of Scribal Errors and Corrections in Arabic Manuscripts," in Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp, eds., *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2007): 217–235; idem, "Technical Practices and Recommendations recorded in Classical and Post-classical Arabic Scholars Concerning the Copying and Correction of Manuscripts," in François Déroche, ed., *Les Manuscrits du Moyen-Orient. Essais de codicologie et paléographie* (Istanbul and Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1989): 51–60, on 56; Franz Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1947): 7 and 36.

23 Bailey, "Hibat Allah ibn al-ʿAssāl," 22–23.

24 The manuscript was owned by Sebastian Tengnagel, who bequeathed it to the Imperial Library after his death in 1605. It was the basis for the edition of de Lagarde, *Die vier Evangelien Arabisch*.

of similar text-critical habits.[25] Textual variants from other manuscripts are noted, introduced by the letter /*khāʾ*/. Occasionally, the letter /*qāf*/ (= *qibṭī*) marks a more literal translation that was felt to be closer to the Coptic source. Finally, the letter /*ʿayn*/ (Arab. *ʿarabī*) provides brief marginal notations on the method of translating from the Coptic *Vorlage* to Arabic.

Another anonymous member of the scholarly circle around the al-ʿAssāl family created a similar apparatus for Saadiah's Pentateuch translation. The *Tafsīr* was popular in the Coptic Church, where it supplemented Arabic translations from the Coptic (see Chapter 3.3) and promoted the study of the Coptic Pentateuch by facilitating comparison with a version based on a Hebrew *Vorlage*.[26] Although it is not clear when the original Judaeo-Arabic text was transliterated from Hebrew script into Arabic script, many copies of the *Tafsīr* in Arabic letters can be found among Coptic communities, starting in the first half of the thirteenth century.

A text-critical approach similar to that employed by al-Asʿad in his revision of the Arabic Gospels is found in a group of manuscripts of the *Tafsīr* that include a critical apparatus: Paris, BnF, MS Arabic 1, and Cairo, COP, MSS Bibl. 32 and 21. According to the anonymous preface in the first two of these, the author states:

> As I perused the translation of the learned Rabbanite Saʿīd al-Fayyūmī, I satisfied myself with regard to his style that he is preferable over all translators and the most eloquent interpreter among the people of his confession, for I found his concise Arabic diction, his overall eloquence, and the consistent correspondence between the Arabic and the Hebrew to be very pleasing to the ear.[27]

The unnamed scholar goes on to compare Saadiah's translation techniques to those employed in other Arabic versions of the Pentateuch. He writes that for this he referred to texts of Samaritan, Syriac-Orthodox, and Melkite

25 See Joseph Francis Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch in the Church of Egypt: A Study from Eighteen Arabic and Copto-Arabic MSS (ix–xvii century) in the National Library at Paris, the Vatican and Bodleian Libraries and the British Museum* ([Leipzig: W. Drugulin,] 1921), passim; see also below, Chapter 3.3.

26 On this issue, see my "An Unknown Medieval Coptic Hebraism? On a Momentous Junction of Jewish and Coptic Biblical Studies," in Anthony Grafton and Glenn Most, eds., *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices: A Global Comparative Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

27 Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 1, fol. 1v. An edition of this preface and its study is being prepared by the present author.

provenance. The authors mentioned in his introduction fall in two categories: those who produced a translation (Arab. *naql* or *tafsīr*) of the Pentateuch and those who commented on it (*sharḥ*). Among the first group we find Saadiah for the Jews, an unspecified Samaritan scholar (probably Abu Saʿīd [Egypt, thirteenth century]), and al-Ḥārith ibn Sinān (Ḥarran, active before 956), ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl (Antioch, eleventh century), and finally Abū Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib (Iraq, eleventh century) for the Christians. The first commentators he mentions are the Church Fathers Basil the Great and John Chrysostom. In addition, he was familiar with Qaraite scholars such as Yeshuʿah ben Judah (mid-eleventh century), Yefet ben ʿElī (tenth century), and David ben Boaz (late tenth century), as is clear from the following statement:

> With regard to the Jews [the Torah] was interpreted by the learned scholar Abū al-Faraj ibn Asad [Yeshuʿah ben Judah], by the teacher, Abū ʿAlī al-Baṣrī [Yefet ben ʿElī], and by the prince Saʿīd al-Dāwūdī [David ben Boaz].[28]

He also refers to the Samaritan Ṣadaqa ibn Munajjā al-Mutaṭabbib (d. 1223). In addition, the unnamed Copt furnishes a long description of Saadiah's translation technique. This includes a detailed discussion of Saadiah's habit of avoiding repetitions (Arab. *takrār*). He also elaborates on the Gaon's famous tendency to rationalization, obvious in his rendering of Exod 7:12, *fa-ṣārat ka-tanānīn* "and [the rods] became *like* serpents" and of Deut 4:20, *wa-akhrajtuhum min shabīh bi-kūr al-ḥadīd* "and brought you forth out of what *seemed like* an iron furnace."

Particularly striking, however, is the anonymous author's text-critical awareness. The collation of different manuscripts of the *Tafsīr* in his possession had led him to the conclusion that the only way to make an accurate copy of Saadiah's version was to return to Jewish copies of the *Tafsīr* in Hebrew script. For this philological task he was compelled to rely on the assistance of a "notable Jew" (Arab. *aḥad afāḍil al-yahūd*). The name of his Jewish assistant, Abū al-Majd ibn Abī Manṣūr ibn Abī al-Faraj al-Isrāʾīlī, is missing in MS Paris and Cairo, COP MS Bibl. 32, but survived in a colophon in Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 21 (fol. 147r), which states that the two collaborated in Shawwāl 639 AH (=1242 CE). Abū al-Majd is known from a number of documents from the first half of the thirteenth century, preserved in the various Cairo Genizah

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28 Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 1, fol. 1v.

collections.[29] They mention his name and his esteemed position in the community. He served as cantor and warden of the Babylonian congregation of Old Cairo at the time of the *nagīd* Abraham ben Maimon (1186–1237). One of these documents refers to Abū al-Majd's masterful recitation of Saadiah's *Tafsīr*.

The collaboration is described as follows (fol. 1v):

> In his hand was a copy in Hebrew letters, from which he read aloud in Arabic. In my hand I held the present copy in Arabic letters, which is prefaced by these words.

While Abū al-Majd read aloud, the anonymous author marked all variants in his copy in order to restore features of Saadiah's translation that had been corrupted or lost in the Coptic transmission. In addition to Saadiah's version in the original Judaeo-Arabic form, the Coptic scholar and his assistant inspected manuscripts of translations from the Septuagint and Samaritan Pentateuch. To incorporate the textual differences from the different versions, he invented a system of glosses and marks that may with some justification be termed a critical apparatus. First, as is common in the Arabic manuscript tradition, the siglum /*khāʾ*/ (i.e., *nusakh ukhrā* "variant readings from other manuscripts") refers to simple textual variants. The letter /*zāy*/ (i.e., Arab. *ziyāda*, "translational addition") indicates exegetical expansions in Saadiah's translation, such as *wa-qāla lahum ḥākiman* "and he said to them *commanding*" (Gen 1:22). Its purpose is to highlight parts of the translation that have no counterpart in the source text. The letter /*ʿayn*/ (*ʿibrānī*) designates a correction based on collation with the Hebrew and usually introduces a more literal translation of the source text. /*Sīn*/ refers to readings from the Samaritan Pentateuch.

These examples demonstrate that Arabic translations were not only an initial vehicle to satisfy the need for comprehensible versions and an adaptation of the biblical text to a new era in a time of profound political and cultural, and above all linguistic, change. They also served the educated stratum as an object of comparative text-critical study. For this purpose, a scholarly apparatus with multiple sigla was appended to many biblical texts in Arabic. Muslim scholars, too, acquainted themselves with the Bible through its Arabic versions, which they studied, compared, and criticized (see Chapter 4). Not only were these translations cited, and often extensively—for instance, by Ibn Qutayba (ninth century) and al-Biqāʿī (fifteenth century)—there is also evidence that Muslim scholars were well aware that Arabic versions they had

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29 Shlomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978) 2: 220; also see the index: 6: 5.

at their disposal were translated from various *Vorlagen* of Hebrew (Rabbanite and Qaraite), Samaritan, Syriac, and Greek provenance.[30]

The modern study of Arabic Bible translations and their sources began in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such translations become more readily available after the invention of movable type (see Chapter 5). Because Arabic manuscripts remained rare and costly, early modern scholars welcomed these products of technical innovation. Editions of Arabic versions of the Bible served a threefold purpose: first, they played a crucial role in the new learned discipline of *philologia sacra* and were considered to be an important source for textual criticism of the Bible. The polyglot Psalms of Agostino Giustiniani (1516), and the many Polyglots that followed, are a telling example of their inclusion in the canons of biblical scholarship. The value of Arabic versions for textual criticism was generally accepted by the Republic of Letters and is stressed, for example, in the *Oratio de laudibus & utilitate trium linguarum* (1524) by Robert Wakefield, the founding father of Hebrew studies in Renaissance England.[31] Franciscus Junius the Elder, too, relied on Arabic versions for his New Testament textual criticism. In 1578 he issued a Latin translation of an Arabic translation of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles to the Corinthians, to which he appended a discussion of the value of the Arabic

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30 Compare, for instance, the statements of: Ibn Qutayba, *Taʾwīl Mushkil al-Qurʾān*, ed. Aḥmad Saqar (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiya, 1981): 16; al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf*, ed. Michael Jan de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1894): 112–113; idem*, Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Maʿādin al-Jawhar*, ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-tijāriya al-kubrā, 1938), 1: 49; Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, *Le livre de la création et de l'histoire*, ed. Clément Huart (Paris: Leroux, 1889–1919), 5: 30; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, *Al-Āthār al-bāqiya ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliya = Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Albêrûnî*, ed. Eduard Sachau (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1878): 12; ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-fiṣal fī-l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal,* 5 vols. (Cairo: n.p., 1899–1903), 1: 117 and 198. For al-Biqāʿī, see the comments by Walid Saleh, "Sublime in its Style, Exquisite in its Tenderness: The Hebrew Bible Quotations in Biqāʿī's Qurān Commentary," in Tzvi Langermann and Josef Stern, eds., *Adaptations and Innovations. Studies on the Interaction between Jewish and Islamic Thought and Literature from the Early Middle Ages to the Late Twentieth Century, Dedicated to Professor Joel L. Kraemer* (Paris and Louvain: Peeters, 2007): 331–348, on 333–334.

31 Robert Wakefield: *On the Three Languages* [*1524*], ed. and trans. G. Lloyd Jones (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies in conjunction with the Renaissance Society of America, 1989). See also the discussion by Hartmut Bobzin, "Vom Sinn des Arabischstudiums im Sprachkanon der Philologia Sacra," *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 24 (1998): 21–32.

variants for the received Greek text.[32] His translation of 1 John, Galatians, and Hebrews remained in manuscript. A similar approach was pursued by Petrus Kirstenius in his *Vitae quatuor Evangelistarum, ex antiquissimo codice Arabico Caesario* (1608) and *Notae in Evangelium S. Matthaei, ex collatione textuum Arabicorum Aegyptiacorum, Hebraeorum, Syriacorum, Graecorum, Latinorum* (1611).[33] Similar statements of the importance of Arabic versions are found in Gabriel Sionita and Johannes Hesronita's *Grammatica Arabica Maronitarum* (1616, sig. aii^{r}–aii^{v}) and in Erpenius' preface to his *Pentateuchus Mosis Arabicè* (1622).

There is another reason for the popularity of these editions. There was only limited access to Arabic grammars and texts in the seventeenth century—Pedro de Alcalà's *Arte para ligeramente saber le lengua araviga* and *Vocabulista aravigo* (both 1505) and Guillaume Postel's *Grammatica Arabica* (1538) stand alone—so Arabic translations of biblical books served as textbooks of that language. It should not surprise us that Ruthger Spey's *Epistola ad Galatas* (1583) is accompanied by unacknowledged excerpts from Postel.[34] Franciscus Junius' student Jacob Christman included a passage from the Epistle to the Philippians in his *Alphabetum Arabicum*.[35] Petrus Kirstenius included an Arabic version of John 17, taken from the Medici edition (see Chapter 5), as a sample text in his grammar *Tria Specimina Characterum Arabicorum* (1608).

With the source text and translation facing each other, it was easy for scholars to acquaint themselves with the grammar and lexicon of the Arabic language. For example, Nicolaus Clenardus (1495–1542) recounts in his memoirs how he

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32 Franciscus Junius, *Sanctorum Apostolorum Acta, ex Arabica translatione Latine reddita: addita obscurorum aliquot difficiliumque locorum* (Heidelberg, 1578). For details, see Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell: The Arabist 1563–1632* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 81; Smitskamp, *Philologia orientalis*, 119–120; Francine De Nave, ed., *Philologia Arabica. Arabische studiën en drukken in de Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1986): 100–101.

33 Petrus Kirstenius based his investigations on Vienna, ÖNB, MS N.F. 97, which contains an Arabic translation of the Gospels with many text-critical marginalia (see above). His personal copy of the preface and epilogue of this manuscript are now Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Or. 27.

34 Spey edited Galatians from an Arabic manuscript of the Palatine Library, Heidelberg, now Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 23. See Raif Georges Khoury, "G 1.6 Ruthger Speys Ausgabe des Paulus-Briefes an die Galater ist das erste mit arabischer Schrift gedruckte Buch in Deutschland," in Elmar Mittler, ed., *Bibliotheca Palatina. Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2 November 1986 Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg* (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1986), Textband, 418–419.

35 Based on the same manuscript used by Spey; see above.

mastered the Arabic script through comparison of proper names in Psalm 83, available to him in Agostino Giustiniani's aforementioned Polyglot Psalter.[36] We have similar testimonies by Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563),[37] Guillaume Postel (1510–1581),[38] Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624),[39] and Etienne Fourmont (1683–1745).[40] Moreover, it was from these Arabic print versions of the Bible that early dictionaries, such as Bedwell's unpublished work,[41] Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*,[42] Schindler's *Lexicon Pentaglotton*,[43] and Duval's *Dictionarium Latino-Arabicum*,[44] drew much of their lexicographic material.

A third factor is that Arabic biblical translations were perceived as a necessary instrument for missionary work in the Near East. The idea of printing an entire Arabic Bible for this purpose found a powerful sponsor in Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585). His efforts laid solid foundations for such an enterprise, although it was not completed during his lifetime (see Chapter 5).

For most of the next two centuries, print editions remained the main source for scholars' attention to Arabic biblical translations. For example, the studies of Saadiah's *Tafsīr* by Tychsen (1782) and Schwarzstein (1886) are based

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36 Alphonse Roersch, ed., *Correspondance de Nicolas Clenard*, (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1940–1941), 1: 210.

37 See Camille Aboussouan, ed., *Le Livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900* (Paris: UNESCO, 1982), 238–239. Musculus' comments on Giustiniani's Psalter are found in Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, MS Cod. 686, which bears the title "Arabicae dictiones ex Psalterio Arabico." See Renate Würsch, ed., *Die orientalischen Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007): 155–157 and pl. 17.

38 See François Secret, "Guillaume Postel et les études arabes à la Renaissance," *Arabica* 9 (1962): 21–36, on 21–22.

39 See Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, 32.

40 The Collège Royal, where Fourmont learned Arabic, used Savary de Brèves' Arabic Psalter (see below, Chapter 5) as a textbook; see Cécile Leung, *Etienne Fourmont, 1683–1745: Oriental and Chinese Languages in Eighteenth-Century France* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002): 72.

41 William Bedwell used the Medici Gospels and Giustiniani's Psalter; see Hamilton, *William Bedwell*.

42 Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, as found in the Constantinople Polyglot, is cited frequently in Hebrew script; see Alastair Hamilton, " 'Nam Tirones Sumus': Franciscus Raphelengius' Lexicon Arabico-Latinum," *De Gulden Passer* 66–67 (1988–1989): 557–589.

43 Citations from Giustiniani's Psalter are usually introduced by "Porrò arabicus," from the name of its printer, Pietro Paolo Porrò.

44 In fact, the entire dictionary is based on Savary de Brèves' *Dauidis Regis et Prophetae Psalmi* (Romae: Ex Typographia Savariana. Excudebat Stephanus Paulinus 1619), see Aboussouan, *Le Livre et le Liban*, 204–205.

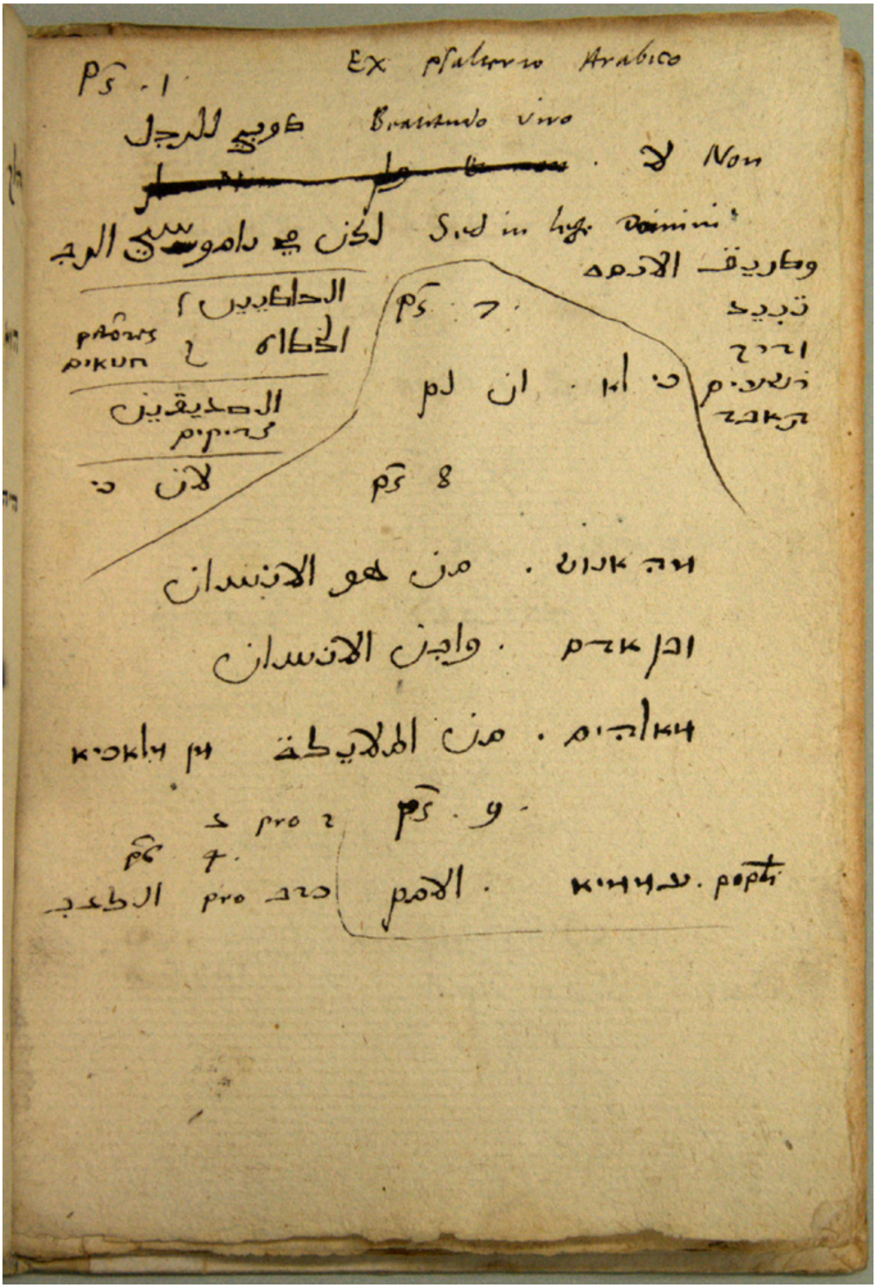


FIGURE 1 *Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, MS Cod. 686, fol. 12v, Musculus' comments on Giustiniani's Psalter, © Bürgerbibliothek.*

entirely on the Polyglots.[45] Studies of al-ʿAlam's translation of the Prophets (see Chapter 3.1) were limited to the texts printed in the Polyglots, such as Gesenius (1820–1821) for Isaiah; Cornill (1886) for Ezekiel; Wald (1784), Gehman (1925), and Löfgren (1936) for Daniel; Reynolds (1943) for Zechariah; Ryssel (1885) for Micah; and Reinke for Nahum (1867) and Haggai (1868).[46] ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭāki's version of the Psalms, as found in the Polyglots, was studied by Döderlein (1778/1779).[47] A new approach was inaugurated by Guidi's study of the Arabic and Ethiopian versions of the Gospels (1888).[48] Guidi was the first to produce a comprehensive inventory of the available manuscripts. He also introduced a comparative method for examining textual evidence.[49] After an initial classification according to their *Vorlagen*, he grouped the versions in

45 O.G. Tychsen, "Ueber die Quelle aus welcher die Handschrift der Arabischen Version in den Polyglotten geflossen ist," *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur* 10 (1782): 95–110; Jisrael Schwarzstein, *Targum Arvi: Die arabische Interpretation des Pentateuchs von Rabbi Saadiah hagaon* (Karlsruhe: A.J. Hofmann, 1886). The copy that Schwarzstein used had the shelf mark Df. 118 at the Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe before it fell victim to the war in 1942.

46 Wilhelm Gesenius, *Der Prophet Jesaia: uebersetzt und mit einem vollständigen philologisch-kritischen und historischen Commentar begleitet* (Leipzig: Friedr. Christ. Wilh. Vogel, 1820–1821), 1: 98–106; Carl Heinrich Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1886): 49–56; Samuel Gottlieb Wald, "Über die Arabische Übersetzung des Daniel in den Polyglotten," *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur* 14 (1784): 204–210; Henry S. Gehman, "The 'Polyglot' Arabic Text of Daniel and Its Affinities," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 44 (1925): 327–352; Oscar Löfgren, *Studien zu den arabischen Danielübersetzungen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der christlichen Texte. Nebst einem Beitrag zur Kritik des Peschittatextes* (Uppsala: A.B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1936); Stephen M. Reynolds, "Al-Alam's Version of Zechariah," *Muslim World* 33 (1943): 273–275; V. Ryssel, "Die arabische Übersetzung des Micha in der Pariser und Londoner Polyglotte," *ZAW* 5 (1885): 102–138; Laurenz Reinke, *Zur Kritik der älteren Versionen des Propheten Nahum* (Münster: Niemann, 1867): 65–70; idem, *Der Prophet Haggai: Einleitung, Grundtext und Uebersetzung, nebst einem vollständigen philologisch-kritischen und historischen Commentar* (Münster: Niemann, 1868): 34–37.

47 Johann Christoph Döderlein, "Von Arabischen Psaltern," *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur* 2 (1778): 151–179; 4 (1779): 57–96.

48 Ignazio Guidi, *Le traduzioni degli Evangeli in arabo e in etiopico* (Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1888).

49 A number of authors before Guidi described and analyzed selected manuscripts: Jacob Georg Christian Adler, *Kurze Übersicht seiner biblisch-kritischen Reise nach Rom* (Altona: J.D.A. Eckhardt, 1783–4); Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus, *Commentatio critica, exhibens e Bibliotheca Oxoniensi Bodleiana Specimina versionum Pentateuchi septem Arabicarum, nondum editarum, cum observationibus* (Jena: apud Bibliop. Academicum, 1789); Johann Gildemeister, *De Evangeliis in arabicum e simplici Syriaca translates* (Bonn: Adolphum

subcategories based on different branches of transmission. Moreover, he drew attention to the fact that textual changes frequently occur within a given version over the course of time, whether as the product of secondary revisions, adaptations, or linguistic development. As a consequence, he stressed the necessity of introducing an additional distinction according to text types. As obvious as it may seem, this approach was unprecedented and had never been applied to biblical translations into Arabic.

Subsequently, Graf followed this method in his epochal *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*.[50] This work, albeit in need of additions and corrections in the light of recent research, remains the major reference for Christian Arabic versions of the Bible.[51] Guidi's comparative method was also employed in a number of specialized inquiries focused on particular books, including Rhode (1921) for the Pentateuch translations employed in the Coptic Church, Löfgren (1936) for Arabic versions of the book of Daniel, and, more recently, Knutsson (1974) for Judges, Madros (1984) for Psalms, Samaan (1994) for Ecclesiasticus, Bengtsson (2003, 1995) for Ruth, Blackburn (1999) for Job, and Kashouh (2011) for the Gospels.[52] Comparable studies of Arabic Pentateuch

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Marcum, 1865); de Lagarde, *Die vier Evangelien Arabisch;* idem, *Psalterium Iob Proverbia Arabice* (Göttingen: W.F. Kaestner), 1876. However, their work was rather haphazard.

50 *GCAL* 1: 85–195.

51 Constructive criticism and suggestions for improving Graf's *magnum opus* were offered by Samir Khalil Samir, "Pour une nouvelle histoire de la littérature arabe des Chrétiens," in idem, ed., *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1982): 259–286. It is only natural for there to be misidentifications in such a vast work; but Graf's reference system for manuscripts leaves much to be desired; it is often not clear whether he intends a catalogue number or a shelf mark. At times both are employed interchangeably, leading to a great deal of confusion. Another deficit is that Graf culled some of his information from printed catalogues, without consulting the manuscripts themselves, thereby reproducing errors and misidentifications in the former. Finally, he had no access to important manuscript collections, including that of St. Catherine's Monastery.

52 Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*; Löfgren, *Studien zu den arabischen Danielübersetzungen*; Bengt Knutsson, *Studies in the Text and Language*; Peter Madros, *Six Arabic Translations of the Psalms: Problems of Exegesis and Philology* (Rome: Pontificia Commissio Biblica, 1984); Kamil W. Samaan, *Sept Traductions Arabes de Ben Sira* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1994); Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions of the Book of Ruth: Text Edition and Language Studies* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1995); idem, *Translation Techniques in Two Syro-Arabic Versions of Ruth* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003); Steven Blackburn, "The Early Arabic Versions of Job (First Millennium C.E.)," Ph.D. dissertation, University of St Andrews, 1999; Hikmat Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: The Manuscripts and their Families* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2011).

translations of Samaritan provenance were published by Shehadeh (1989) and Harutyun S. Jamgotchian, and of those in use among the Qaraites by Polliack (1997).[53] Early non-Saadianic translations have attracted increasing scholarly attention during the last decade.[54] The *Tafsīr* itself retains a special place in research. Available to modern scholars in multiple printings and editions, it may be regarded as the best-studied Arabic version of all.[55]

The focus on manuscripts, as evinced over the last century in the aforementioned studies, revealed an important characteristic of the Arabic versions: their immense variety, which undoubtedly exceeds that of other biblical translation traditions. Whereas seventeenth-century scholars habitually lamented the scarcity of sources, their successors today must deal with an embarrassing abundance of manuscripts.[56] It has become clear over the last century that Arabic translations are to a great extent secondary—if not tertiary—versions and rather late as compared to the Aramaic Targumim or the Peshiṭta, for example. Further, since scholars preferred to focus on primary versions based on the original Hebrew and Greek, the Arabic versions' value for textual criticism has been a matter of debate.[57] Arabic versions were, however, occasion-

53 Hasib Shehadeh, "The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch: Prolegomena to a Critical Edition," Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1989 (Hebrew). Jamgotchian published his studies in Russian, see the survey by Dmitry A. Morozov, "The Bible and Arabic Philology in Russia (1773–2011)," in *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1 (2013): 271–298. Meira Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation: A Linguistic and Exegetical Study of Karaite Translations of the Pentateuch from the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries C.E.*, (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997).

54 See below, Chapter 3.5.1.

55 A comprehensive bibliography is still not available. Much of the earlier research was covered by Henry Malter, *Saadia Gaon: His Life and Works* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1921).

56 See the remarks at the beginning of this chapter. See also Graf, *GCAL* 1: 85–86; Bernard Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung. Vat. Borg. ar. 95 und Ber. orient. oct. 1108* (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksells Boktrycheri, 1938): 1; Samir, "La Version Arabe des Evangiles d'al-Asʿad Ibn al-ʿAssāl. Étude des Manuscrits et Spécimens," 444; Löfgren, *Studien zu den arabischen Danielübersetzungen*, vii; Knutsson, *Studies in the Text and Language*, 1–3.

57 Levin allows them to have a "textgeschichtliche Bedeutung" (*Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung*, 1). Peters stresses the text-critical importance of some translations, such as that by al-Ḥārith ibn Sinān for the *Syro-Hexapla* or that by Isaac Velasquez for the Latin Gospels (Curt Peters, "Grundsätzliche Bemerkungen zur Frage der arabischen Bibeltexte," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 20 [1942–43]: 129–143). The value of al-ʿAlam's translation for the study of the Alexandrian text type has been pointed out frequently; see below Chapter 3.1. See also the discussion in John William Wevers, "The

ally used in critical editions of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. Holmes' *Vetus Testamentum ex versione Septuaginta interpretum* (1822) acknowledges its use of four unspecified Arabic versions from the Bodleian Library. Von Tischendorf employed Arabic versions of the Gospels to improve his earlier edition of the *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1849).[58] The first four editions of Alford's New Testament also presented variants taken from Arabic translations.[59] However, following the criticism that they are "of very little use in present stage of critical investigation of the text," later editions dispensed with them.[60] The apparatus of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* contains references to the Arabic portions of the Paris Polyglot.

In addition to the absence of a general consensus as to the Arabic versions' value for textual criticism, modern scholarship tends to lack a single direction in this regard. Biblical scholarship, as has been shown above, completely rejected the usefulness of studying Arabic translations for gaining insights into the Bible itself. By contrast, a number of scholars, including Levin (1938), Knutsson (1974), Bengtsson (1995), and, more recently, Dikken (2012), have proposed concentrating on the Middle Arabic features in these texts.[61] This approach is best captured in Knutsson's statement that "the text-critical aspect of the Arabic versions of the Pentateuch is only one amongst many [. . .]. The Arabic versions deserve to be examined from several other viewpoints, of which the purely linguistic one is the most important."[62]

Arabic Versions of Genesis and the Septuagint," *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 3 (1970): 8–11.

58 Constantin von Tischendorf, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1849). The siglum Ar$^{\text{Vat}}$ refers to Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 13, an early Arabic version of the Gospels that is discussed below (see Chapter 3.2). Ar$^{\text{Pet}}$ refers to St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS D 226 (see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts). A full list of Arabic manuscripts is found in the third volume of the *Novum Testamentum Graece* published by Caspar René Gregory (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1894).

59 Henry Alford, ed., *The Greek Testament* (London: Rivingtons, 1859–1871).

60 "The Greek Text of the New Testament," *Edinburgh Review 94* (1851): 29. See Samuel Davidson, *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism: Exhibiting a Systematic View of that Science* (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1852).

61 Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung;* Knutsson, *Studies in the Text and Language;* Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*; Berend Jan Dikken, "Some Remarks about Middle Arabic and Saʿadya Gaon's Arabic Translation of the Pentateuch in Manuscripts of Jewish, Samaritan, Coptic Christian, and Muslim Provenance," in Liesbeth Zack and Arie Schippers, eds., *Middle Arabic and Mixed Arabic: Diachrony and Synchrony* (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 51–81.

62 Knutsson, *Studies in the Text and Language*, 4.

The linguistic aspect surely is important and should not be neglected. But biblical translations often follow a grammar of their own, which is governed by the wish to imitate the exalted source text and maintain a high degree of literalism in the translation. Furthermore, this literalism played a functional role in instruction and emerged directly out of the didactic need to mirror the source text as closely as possible, as is the case for biblical translations in other languages as well. The language often may be described as a professional "translationese" that was not employed in any other literary genre. This means that biblical translations reflect only a rather specific register of Middle Arabic. In contrast to translations, other genres, such as apologetic treatises produced by the very same scribal communities, "are written in a fluent and even elegant language."[63] Similarly, in three-part Qaraite manuscripts, which juxtapose the Masoretic text with an Arabic translation and a commentary, the commentary is often in a register that is notably closer to Classical Arabic than is the translation.[64]

It must be emphasized that scholars' focus on linguistic features or textual criticism often comes at the expense of an analysis of translation technique and a study of how the version is embedded in the broader context of the related theological, exegetical, and grammatical traditions of which biblical versions have always been an inextricable part. Equally neglected in research was their *Sitz im Leben*. There are only few inquiries into how these translations were used in the liturgy, education, or apologetics; Griffith (2013) is a recent and rare exception.[65] These contexts must have strongly conditioned translators' strategies for transferring particular structures, proper names, or concepts from the source language into the target language. A more contextualized approach is necessary and was therefore followed in the present study.

As a prerequisite to any penetrating study of a particular biblical book in Arabic, modern scholars need to begin with the cumbersome and time-consuming task of sifting through the manuscript material, which demands a fair amount of detective work and archival skills. In the ideal situation, all surviving textual testimonies, if accessible, should be taken into consideration. This is especially true for critical editions, given that an edition based on a single sample manuscript would disregard significant information and flatten

63 Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic, based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium* (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1966–), 1: 20 and 54.

64 See Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 40.

65 Sidney H. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the "People of the Book" in the Language of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

complex histories of transmission into something rather one-dimensional. In regard to most translations, the evidence of context is sketchy at best. Most manuscripts lack introductions that would identify the translator and date their work. In this genre, higher textual criticism is not really useful to establish such information.

As this investigation will reveal, it must be gleaned primarily from the manuscripts themselves. The codicological data for each surviving copy of each translation tradition must be collected meticulously. Not only must codices be identified and understood; the writing materials and techniques used for their preparation must also be studied, together with their shapes, their page and text layouts, the practices of the scribes who wrote them, the scripts and handwritings these scribes used, and the marks left by readers and users over the years, including annotations, ownership notes, and records of private library arrangements. Marginalia and notes, for example, can often illuminate the use of the manuscript; for example, liturgical marks demonstrating their use in liturgy, or annotations by readers suggestive of a private study Bible. The copyists of the manuscripts, their whereabouts and motivations, where and when their products circulated and who owned them, are valuable indications for establishing details of the emergence and transmission of the traditions they contain. So, in addition to a study of the content—the translation itself—close observation of material aspects may furnish data about the communities that used a given translation, its geographical and historical circulation, and its reception history.

CHAPTER 2

"A Clear Language that Ordinary People Understand": The Linguistic Background

A study of Arabic versions of the Bible that does not take into account the larger historical context would necessarily be incomplete.[1] Few events in history changed the political and linguistic tapestry of an area to the same extent as the Muslim conquest of the Near East in the seventh and eighth centuries. The Islamic expansion inaugurated the shift of Late Antiquity into another great civilization, that of medieval Islam. The conquest certainly did not mark the sudden end of the Late-Antique, but the start of a process that led to adoption of its heritage in the Arabic language.

The lands seized by the Muslims were by no means linguistically uniform; they were characterized by a high degree of multilinguism, often reflecting distinct social strata (e.g. rural vs. urban) or religious affiliations (e.g. Jewish vs. Christian, Chalcedonian vs. Miaphysite). Arabic slowly became the *lingua franca* of the entire region and the spoken tongue of most of its non-Arab inhabitants. Christian and Jewish communities in Iraq, Syria-Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa, as well as the Samaritans in Palestine and elsewhere, adopted the language for most written and spoken communication. Aramaic, Greek, and Coptic, the three dominant languages before then, were largely supplanted. For most communities, they became a scholarly medium that had to be acquired. Only Aramaic survived as a spoken language until today. This linguistic shift produced the multiglossic culture that is associated with medieval Christian and Jewish communities under Muslim rule and is manifested in biblical translations. It shaped the need to make the Holy Scriptures accessible to a larger public in the new vernacular and thus constituted the immediate historical context that led to the rise of Arabic translations of the Bible.

Arabicization may be defined as the adoption of the Arabic language to a degree that its use became imperative in both the cultural and religious spheres.[2] It is true that there were Arabic-speaking Jewish and Christian com-

1 This chapter is intended as an orientation. A more detailed description that more systematically takes into account ethnic, geo-political, and linguistic affiliation is beyond the scope here.

2 The classic studies of the arabicization process remain: Abraham N. Poliak, "L'arabisation de l'orient sémitique," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 12 (1938): 34–63; Clive Holes, *Modern Arabic:*

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munities in pre-Islamic Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and Arabia. Most prominent were the Ghassānids, Arab tribal allies of the Byzantines along the Persian frontier, and the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra, a Sassanid vassal kingdom.[3] The former were Miaphysites; the latter were affiliated with the Church of the East. Both groups were bilingual and used Syriac and Arabic for religious purposes, including the liturgy, as reported by Michael the Syrian and by the Muslim historian al-Ṭabarī.[4] In the area around Nisibis and on the banks of the Tigris, in a region called Bēth ʿArbāyē (Syriac for "the home of the Arabs"), the Syriac-Orthodox bishop Mar Aḥūdemmeh (d. 575) had proselytized among the local tribes and established an episcopal see that was later occupied by George, the Bishop of the Arabs.[5] A significant Christian community also existed in Najrān[6] and Qatar (Syriac Bēṯ Qaṭrāyē).[7] These tribal confederations conducted their written communications with their coreligionists in Syriac, not Arabic. The letter of consolations sent by Jacob of Serugh (d. 521 CE) to the community of Najrān, as well as the letters of George, the Bishop of the Arabs (d. 724 CE), were also

Structures, Functions, and Varieties (London: Longman, 1994): 1–4, and Kees Versteegh, *The Arabic Language* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997): 93–113.

3 Theresia Hainthaler, *Christliche Araber vor dem Islam: Verbreitung und konfessionelle Zugehörigkeit: eine Hinführung* (Leuven and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007). See also Louis Cheikho, *al-Naṣrāniya wa-ādābuhā bayna ʿArab al-Jāhiliya* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1912–23), which should be read together with Camille Hechaïme, *Louis Cheikho et son livre "Le christianisme et la littérature chrétienne an Arabie avant l'islam": étude critique* (Beirut: Dar El-Machreq, 1967). Greg Fisher, *Between Empires. Arabs, Romans, and Sasanians in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: University Press, 2011). See also the volumes of Shahid's *Byzantium and the Arabs* listed in the bibliography at the end of this book.

4 See the comments by J. Spencer Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in pre-Islamic Times* (London: Longman, 1979): 223–228; Georg Graf, *GCAL* 1: 27–43. The passage from Michael the Syrian is found in Jean-Baptiste Chabot, ed. and trans., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899–1907), 2: 422 and 4: 432. For al-Ṭabarī, see Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī*: Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Michael Jan de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1879–1901), 1: 164.

5 Hainthaler, *Christliche Araber vor dem Islam*, 106–110. See also Jack Tannous, "Between Christology and Kalām? The Life and Letters of George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes," in George A. Kiraz, *Malphono wa-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in the Honor of Sebastian P. Brock* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008): 671–716.

6 René Tardy, *Najrân: Chrétiens d'Arabie avant l'Islam* (Beirut: Dar El-Machreq, 1999).

7 A number of scholars are related to Qatar, as for example, Isaac of Nineveh, Dādīshōʿ of Qatar, Ahōb of Qatar, and Gabriel of Qatar. They composed their writings in Syriac.

composed in Syriac.[8] These texts indicate that Arabic was probably used only in speech and never for literary compositions.

Certain communities in the Arabian Peninsula had adopted Judaism long before the rise of Islam.[9] Their members were fully involved in their Arabic-speaking intellectual and political environment. Some pre-Islamic poets were of Jewish origin, notably al-Samawʾal ibn ʿĀdiyā (middle of the sixth century CE), a companion of the famous poet Imruʾ al-Qays. Al-Rabīʿ ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq, Shurayḥ ibn ʿImrān, Shuʿba ibn Gharīḍ, Abū Qays ibn Rifāʿa, Dirham ibn Zayd, and Abū al-Dhayyāl were also Jews, but there is no reflection of their religious affiliation in their poems.[10] For a brief interlude (517–525 CE), the ruler of the Ḥimyarite Kingdom at the southwestern fringe of the Arabian Desert, Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās, adopted Judaism.[11] The Ḥadīth and early traditional literature furnish many accounts of Muḥammad's encounters with the Jewish tribes of Yathrib (Medina), namely the Banū Qaynuqāʿ, Banū Naḍīr, and Banū Qurayẓa, as well as of their most influential members—Finḥāṣ al-Yahūdī, Shaʿs ibn Qays, and, above all, ʿAbdallāh ibn Salām. There is some evidence that Jews employed a distinct Arabic dialect, which incorporated some Hebrew and Aramaic words, and was called *al-yahūdiya* by Muslim authors.[12] No literary traces of this dialect have come down to us and it almost certainly never served as more than an oral medium.

Unfortunately, contemporary sources treat of the arabicization process only to a limited degree or fail to mention it at all. The bulk of the evidence that allows us to reconstruct this process comes exclusively from the increased

8 Jack Tannous, ed., *Between Christology and Kalām? The Life and Letters of George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009). For Jacob of Serugh's letter of consolation, see Irfan Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran: New Documents* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1971): 36.

9 David Samuel Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam* (London: British Academy, 1924); Gordon Darnell Newby, *A History of the Jews of Arabia: From Ancient Times to their Eclipse under Islam* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1988); Michael Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); idem, *Jews and Arabs in Pre- and Early Islamic Arabia* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1998); Moshe Gil, *Jews in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004): 3–18.

10 Hafiz Ghulam Mustafa, *Religious Trends in Pre-Islamic Arabic Poetry* (Bombay: Aligarh Muslim University, 1968): 119–24.

11 Christian Julian Robin, "Le Judaïsme de Ḥimyar," *Arabia* 1 (2003) : 97–172; idem, "Joseph, dernier roi de Ḥimyar (de 522 à 525, ou une des années suivantes)," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 34 (2008): 1–124.

12 Gordon Darnell Newby, "Observations about an Early Judaeo-Arabic," *JQR* 62 (1971): 212–221; Moshe Gil, "The Origin of the Jews of Yathrib," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4 (1984): 203–224.

literary production in the newly adopted language, both formal texts and ephemera. It is obvious that an exclusive reliance on written sources distorts the picture to some extent. Nevertheless, it can be stated with some justification that arabicization of the region was more inclusive and more rapid than islamicization. Becker was one of the first to insist on the distinction between arabicization and islamicization as products of the Muslim conquest.[13] Active islamicization of the conquered peoples was neither an immediate objective of the conquest nor its direct result. Under the Umayyad caliphs, there was no sustained attempt to convert the local population. The Muslims were primarily concerned with establishing themselves as the new ruling elite over a Christian majority. Bulliet, who tried to estimate the extent of conversion in different areas, concluded that only around ten percent of the population, the "early adopters" as he calls them, had converted by the end of the Umayyad period and that it took several centuries for a Muslim majority to emerge.[14] His findings are confirmed by a careful analysis of the archaeological and literary evidence, which reveals that the Christian communities in the conquered territories were still thriving at the beginning of the eighth century.[15] More extensive conversion to Islam appears to have taken place in the course of the ʿAbbāsid period. By then, those who had embraced the new faith constituted the majority of population.

Arabic was adopted by non-Muslims for most forms of spoken and written communication, even by those who maintained their bilingualism. Its widespread use, which exceeded that of all previous *koines*, can be attributed to the fact that it was accepted as an administrative, religious, *and* cultural language to the same degree.[16] It would appear, however, that it took many generations of gradual evolution before an area was completely arabicized.

The pace at which this took place depended on the conquered population's political and socio-cultural contacts with the Arab-speaking elite. Urban centers, including the newly founded *amṣār* ("garrison towns"), where most of

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13 Carl Heinrich Becker, *Islamstudien: Vom Werden und Wesen der islamischen Welt* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1924).

14 Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979).

15 See Robert Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995): 139–158.

16 As claimed by Robert Hoyland, "Language and Identity: The Twin histories of Arabic and Aramaic (and: Why did Aramaic Succeed where Greek Failed?)," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 23 (2004): 183–199. Compare also David J. Wasserstein, "Why Did Arabic Succeed Where Greek Failed? Language change in the Near East after Muhammad" *Scripta Classica Israelica* 22 (2003): 257–272.

the Muslim chancelleries were located, doubtlessly played a catalyzing function in that process.[17] The caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705) inaugurated the use of Arabic for administrative purposes, a policy that continued in the reign of his son al-Walīd I (705–715).[18] For administrative and economic reasons, as well as for ease of everyday communication, Arabic thus became the spoken *lingua franca* of people who lived in—or migrated to—those major centers and of the trade among them. This is why the oldest surviving direct literary evidence of the adoption of Arabic is on papyri and consists of administrative and commercial documents. These urban *koines* subsequently spread to the cities' rural hinterland.[19] The differences among geographical districts and among social strata must have been significant, so the use of a variety of languages alongside Arabic was a normal phenomenon.

The available literary evidence suggests differences in the arabicization of the various Christian, Jewish, and Samaritan communities. The sources discussed below furnish an approximate indication of the date of the emergence of Arabic biblical translations, which must have come soon after the linguistic shift in order to meet intra-communal needs. As will be shown, there is a chronological symmetry between the pace of arabicization and the dates of the early manuscripts produced by the different communities. Melkite, East-Syriac, and Jewish communities shifted to the new language quickly, so the manuscript evidence is or can be dated early. West-Syriac authors continued to employ Syriac, so there are few early translations that can clearly be attributed to this community. The Copts looked back on a considerable corpus of translations only after they had become fully arabicized in the 12th century.

2.1 The Melkites

The Melkite communities seem to have led the way in adopting the Arabic language, as reflected in their production of texts in Christian Arabic at a comparably early stage. These are commonly connected with the monasteries of

17 See the classic study by Johann Fück, *Arabiya: Untersuchungen zur arabischen Sprach- und Stilgeschichte* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959).

18 An event that was also noted by Christian annalists; see Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 2: 481. See also Agapius of Manbij: *Kitab al-ʿUnvan*, ed. Alexander Alexandrovich Vasiliev, *Kitab al-ʿUnvan*, in René Graffin and François Nau, eds., *Patrologia Orientalis* 5, 7, 8 and 11 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1910 = PO 5, 7, 8 and 11), 5: 498.

19 Diem pointed out that this assumption may offer a historical explanation for the existence of two distinct layers—urban and non-urban—in most of the dialects. See Werner Diem, "Divergenz und Konvergenz im Arabischen," *Arabica* 25 (1978): 128–147.

Palestine and the Sinai Peninsula, where many early manuscripts are preserved until today. The communities of Syria, and the urban area of Damascus in particular, seem to have also been centers of literary activity in Arabic, but less material has survived from them.[20] The earliest documented date for Christian writing in Arabic is found in a colophon, extant in two manuscripts copied in the tenth or eleventh century (Sinai, MS Ar. 542, fol. 15r; and London, BL, MS Or. 5019, fol. 58v), which states that the martyrology contained in the manuscripts was translated into Arabic in the year 772.[21] The apologetic treatise *Fī tathlīth Allāh al-wāḥid* ("On the Triune Nature of the One God") was composed in 788 CE, as convincingly argued by Swanson.[22] It is today preserved in Sinai, MS Ar. 154, which together with its *membrum disjectum* Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 6725 represents two of the oldest surviving codices in Arabic script. Many other early codices are of Melkite provenance. Two Arabic translations of parts of the New Testament are extant; the first in a manuscript explicitly dated to 859[23] and the other to 867.[24] The next oldest manuscript is London, BL, MS

20 The bilingual Greek-Arabic fragment of Ps 78:20–31, 51–61 (LXX 77) was found in Damascus. That is also where Bishr ibn al-Sirrī translated and commented on the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic and Pauline Epistles. These texts are discussed in greater detail below.

21 See Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 1: 20n7; idem, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Neo-Arabic and Middle Arabic*, 3rd ed. (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1999): 5–6.

22 The text was first edited and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles, from an Eighth or Ninth Century MS in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, with a Treatise 'On the Triune Nature of God'* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1899): *74–*107. Comments on the peculiarities of this first edition, a discussion of the text, and the announcement of a new critical edition are found in Samir Khalil Samir, "Une apologie arabe du christianisme d'époque umayyade?," *Parole de l'Orient* 16 (1990/1991): 85–106; idem, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity (750–1258)," in Samir Khalil Samir and Jørgen S. Nielsen, eds., *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1994): 57–114. Whereas Samir suggested three possible dates, Swanson proved that 788 is correct. See Mark N. Swanson, "Some Considerations for the Dating of *Fī taṯlīṯ allāh al-wāḥid* (Sin. Ar. 154) and *al-Ǧāmiʿ wuǧūh al-īmān* (London, British Library Or. 4950)," *Parole de l'Orient* 18 (1993): 115–141.

23 On Sinai, MS NF Parch. Ar. 16, a fragment of the Gospel in Arabic, see Yiannis Meimaris, *Katalogos tōn neōn aravikōn cheirographōn tēs Hieras Monēs Aikaterinēs tou Orous Sina* (Athens: Ethnikon Hidryma Ereunōn, 1985).

24 On Sinai, MS Ar. 151, see Harvey Staal, *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151. Vol. I Pauline Epistles. Vol. II Acts of the Apostles, Catholic Epistles* (Louvain: Peeters, 1983–84). However, it has been noted that the date refers only to the translation of the Pauline Epistles in the first part. This made Blau wonder whether a later scribe may have simply copied the first portion of the manuscript, including the colophon, from an earlier *Vorlage*. See Joshua Blau, "Über einige christlich-arabische Manuskripte aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert," in

Or. 4950, dated 877, which contains an anonymous *Summa Theologiae Arabica* and a treatise by Theodore Abū Qurra on the "Veneration of Holy Icons."[25] The author states of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica* (fol. 5v) that he felt compelled to compose his work in Arabic, as this is "a clear language that ordinary people understand."[26] The works of Theodore Abū Qurra (d. ca. 820) attest to the fact that by the beginning of the ninth century the Melkites already possessed a significant body of literature in Arabic.[27] Among the Melkites of Egypt, by contrast, it was only with Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq, the patriarch of Alexandria (933–940), known in Greek as Eutychius, that extensive literary composition in Arabic began.[28]

Greek was the official ecclesiastical language of the Melkite monasteries of southern Palestine and the Sinai Peninsula before arabicization, a reflection of the strong ties with Constantinople. Many monks were bilingual, as Christian Palestinian Aramaic is likely to have been the vernacular of many if not most monks. Although Greek remained the official language for corre-

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idem, *Studies in Middle Arabic and its Judaeo-Arabic Variety* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988): 311–318, on 317.

25 The manuscript was copied by Stephen of Ramleh, who also copied Sinai, MS Ar. 72. On the first text, see *GCAL* 2: 17–19; Blau, "Über einige christlich-arabische Manuskripte," 311–312; Sidney H. Griffith, "The First Christian *Summa Theologiae* in Arabic. Christian Kalām in Ninth-Century Palestine," in Michael Servers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi, eds., *Conversion and Continuity* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990): 15–31; idem, "Stephen of Ramlah and the Christian Kerygma in Arabic in Ninth-Century Palestine," in *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine* (Aldershot, Hants and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1992) VII: 23–45; idem, "A Ninth-Century *Summa Theologiae Arabica*," IX: 123–141 in the same volume. Only parts have been edited; see Luwīs Maʿlūf, "Aqdam al-Makhṭūṭāt al-naṣrāniya al-ʿarabiya," *al-Mashriq* 6 (1903): 1011–1023. As for the second text, Arendzen prepared an edition (Ioannes Arendzen, *Theodori Abu Ḳurra de cultu imaginum libellus e codice arabico: nunc primum editus, latine versus, illustratus* [Bonn: C. Drobnig, 1897]); and Griffith translated it into English (Sidney H. Griffith, *A Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons written in Arabic by Theodore Abū Qurrah, Bishop of Harrān* (*c. 755–c. 830 A.D.*) [Louvain: Peeters, 1997]).

26 As quoted in Griffith, "The first Christian *Summa Theologiae*," 25.

27 On Abū Qurra, see Sidney H. Griffith, "Theodore Abū Qurrah's Arabic Tract on the Christian Practice of Venerating Images," in *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine*, V: 53–73 and the exhaustive bibliography at 54n4.

28 See Michel Breydy, *Études sur Saʿīd Ibn Baṭrīq et ses sources* (Louvain: E. Peeters, 1983); Françoise Micheau, "Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq," EI², 8: 853–856; *GCAL* 2: 32–38. As well, as Uriel Simonsohn, "The biblical narrative in the Annales of Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq and the question of medieval Byzantine-Orthodox identity", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 22 (2011): 37–55.

spondence between monasteries, it gradually dropped out of use and to a large extent lost its status as a scholarly language. There is evidence that from the end of the eighth century monks no longer had a sufficient command of the language.[29] For example, a monk at Mar Sabas is reported to have had difficulties in memorizing the Psalms in Greek.[30] Another monk, apparently facing a similar difficulty, astonished a western pilgrim to Jerusalem at the beginning of the ninth century when he conducted his prayers by "singing the Psalms in the language of the Saracens (*Sarracenica lingua psallit*)."[31] Parts of the liturgy had become incomprehensible even in the monastic environment. It may also have been this growing ignorance that prompted Michael Synkellos, a monk of Mar Sabas, to compile his introduction to Greek grammar around the year 810.[32]

In a broader context, the fact that Greek slowly gave way to Arabic at an early stage seems to be intrinsically connected with the effective isolation from Byzantium, the recognized center of Chalcedonian orthodoxy that resulted from the Muslim conquest. What is more, the new Arab polity placed many members of the Melkite communities in official government positions, which consisted to a large percentage of Christians. By the rise of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, official ecclesiastical contacts between Constantinople and the communities in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt weakened.[33] The isolation of the Oriental

29 See the remarks by Igor Ševčenko, "Constantinople viewed from Eastern Provinces in the Middle Byzantine Period," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3–4 (1979–80): 712–747, on 735–737; Robert Pierpont Blake, "La littérature grecque en Palestine au viii^e siècle," *Le Muséon* 78 (1965): 367–380, on 376–378; and Siméon Vailhe, "Le monastère de Saint-Sabas," *Échos d'Orient* 3 (1899–1900): 18–28, on 22.

30 Joannes Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum Martii* (Paris and Rome: Apud Victorem Palmé, 1865), 3: 176.

31 The visitor recorded the incident in his *Memorandum on the Houses of God and Monasteries in the Holy City;* see Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* (Geneva: J.-G. Fick, 1879): 302.

32 As conjectured by Sidney H. Griffith, "Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century: The Example of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*," in *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine*, VII: 117–138, on 127.

33 See again Ševčenko, "Constantinople Viewed," 735–737. The quotation follows Griffith, "Stephen of Ramlah," 26; the text is found in Louis Cheikho, Bernard Carra de Vaux, and Habib Zayyat, *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales* (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1906–1909), 1: 69–70. The statement is reiterated by Yaḥyā Ibn Saʿīd of Antioch, who took up his baton; see *Histoire de Yaḥyā Ibn Saʿïd d'Antioche, continuateur de Saʿïd-Ibn-Biṭrïq*, eds. Ignatii Krachkovskii and Alexander Alexandrovich Vasiliev (Paris: Didot-Firmin, 1924/1932, = PO, vols. 18/5 and 23/3), 18: 706–707. It is also found in

patriarchates is exemplified by the remarks of Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq of Alexandria (877–940) in his *World History*:[34]

> The names of the patriarchs of Constantinople have not reached me since Theodoros died [i.e., 679] at the time of writing this book. Likewise, in regard to the patriarchs of Rome, the names of the patriarchs of Rome and reports of them have not reached me. [...] In the year 326 [i.e., 937] a gratifying peace came about between the Byzantines (and the Muslims). And in that year, Theofilakis, patriarch of the city of Constantinople, sent a messenger to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch asking them to mention his name in their prayers in their liturgies because this has been cut off since the era of the Umayyads.

Arabic played a similar role for the lay population, who had formerly spoken Christian Palestinian Aramaic.[35]

2.2 The Syriac-Orthodox Church

There are few documentary sources on the spread of Arabic as a vernacular among the communities of the Syriac-Orthodox Church. As a rule, Syriac and Arabic existed side by side until very recent times.[36] Ḥabīb ibn Khidma Abū Rāʾiṭa (d. 840)[37] and Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (893–974),[38] as well as his pupil Abū ʿAlī ʿIsā ibn Isḥāq ibn Zurʿa (second half of the tenth century)[39] and his pupil Yaḥyā

the Chronicle of Michael the Great; see Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 2: 452–53 (Syriac) and 486 (translation).

34 The quotation follows Griffith, "Stephen of Ramlah," 26.

35 As emphasized by Milka Rubin, "Arabicization versus Islamization in the Palestinian Melkite Community during the Early Muslim Period," in Arieh Kofsky and Guy Stroumsa, eds., *Sharing the Sacred* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1998): 149–162.

36 See Irene Garbell, "Remarks on the Historical Phonology of an Eastern Mediterranean Arabic Dialect," *Word* 14 (1958): 303–337.

37 The most up-to-date bibliography of his writings is found in Sandra Toenies Keating, *Defending the 'People of Truth' in the Early Islamic Period: The Christian Apologies of Abū Rāʾiṭah* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); *GCAL* 2: 222–226.

38 Griffith gives a comprehensive overview of his writings and biography, as well as an updated bibliography. See Sidney H. Griffith, trans., *Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī: The Reformation of Morals* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2002); see also *GCAL* 2: 233–249.

39 *GCAL* 2: 252–253.

ibn Jarīr,[40] wrote in Arabic; but they are exceptions within a predominately Syriac-writing majority. It should be noted that they all were active in Takrīt. They were *madnᵉḥāyē*, that is, members of the eastern part of an ecclesiastical dominion that historically fell under the authority of the Maphrian. That area would naturally have constituted a stronghold of the Arabic language. The apologetic nature of their writings may offer another explanation for their use of Arabic. Syriac was commonly the preferred scholarly language, as shown by the works of Nonnus of Nisibis, Moses bar Kepha, Dionysius bar Ṣalībī, Michael the Great, and Bar Hebraeus. It was only at a later stage that their writings were translated into Arabic. The continued use of Syriac functioned as a religious and cultural marker.[41]

Of particular interest is the ecclesiastical chronicle of Bar Hebraeus, composed in Syriac and later translated into Arabic by its author for a Muslim readership. The circumstances are known to us from a passage in Bar Hebraeus' biography written by his brother Bar Sawmā, who mentions that some Ṭayyāyē (Arabs) of Marāgha had requested a translation of the Syriac chronicle into Arabic.[42] The inadequate knowledge of Arabic among contemporary dignitaries is often lamented, and Bar Hebraeus deemed a good command of that language to be noteworthy. He mentions, for example, that he had to accompany Patriarch Dionysius ʿAngūr to Damascus to serve as an interpreter in the latter's dealings with the Muslim rulers, because the patriarch's Arabic was weak.[43] In contrast, Bar Hebraeus' former fellow student in Tripoli, Ṣalība ibn Yaʿqūb Wajīh, is praised for his Arabic.[44] The extraordinary command of Arabic by the East-Syriac patriarch Abū Ḥalīm (Catholicos Elias III; d. 1190) is explicitly noted.[45] Bar Hebraeus furnishes similar notes in regard to other East-Syriac scholars: He recounts, for example, how George, the son of Bokht-ʿĪshāʿ the

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40 *GCAL* 2: 259–263.

41 See Lucas van Rompay, "Past and Present Perceptions of Syriac Literary Tradition," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 3 (2000): 71–103. "Most importantly, the preservation of Syriac was itself no longer a natural fact, but was becoming increasingly dependent on the teaching carried out in the schools of monasteries and parish churches. The system of education had to be built on an ideology that saw the language and literature as constituent elements of Syrian Christian identity" (ibid., 72).

42 The work was edited by Jean Abbeloos and Thomas Josephus Lamy, eds., *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* (Louvain: Peeters, 1872–1877), 2: 469.

43 Ibid., 1: 663 and 717.

44 Ibid., 2: 41.

45 Ibid., 2: 369.

Elamite, impressed Muslim dignitaries with his mastery of classical Arabic.[46] Also Amīn al-Dawla was equally “skilled in rhetoric and in the grammar of the Arabic.”[47] The Melkite scholar Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit (= Thābit ibn Qurra, 9th century) is reported to have been fluent in three languages, Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. This habit of noting who mastered Arabic is paralleled in other chronicles as well.[48] The conclusion to be drawn is that knowledge of Arabic could not be taken for granted among West-Syriac scholars, at least among monastics. This assumption applies both to literary use and to the vernacular. A ramification of this linguistic situation was the requirement that the Maphrian, whose seat was initially in Takrīt, but then moved to the monastery of Mar Mattai near Mosul in the 11th century, be fluent in Arabic, so that he could conduct Church affairs effectively in the East.[49] The future Maphrian Ignatius II (1143–1164) cited his ignorance of Arabic at the time of his election and was compelled to study that language before assuming his post.[50] It was customary for a ‘westerner’ to hold the position of Maphrian, and we may assume that the western Syriac-Orthodox clergy were far less arabicized than their eastern coreligionists.

2.3 The Church of the East

We face a similar dearth of sources for the spread of Arabic in the Church of the East, which constituted the largest single religious community in Iraq

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46 Ernest A. Wallis Budge, ed. and trans., *The Chronography of Gregory Abû’l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus: Being the First Part of his Political History of the World*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1932); English translation, 1: 115; Syriac, 2: 125.

47 Ibid., 1: 152 (English) and 2: 168 (Syriac).

48 In the *Anonymous Chronicle of 1234* (Ecclesiastic History), the deacon and physician Sahdā is praised for his Arabic; see Jean-Baptiste Chabot, ed., *Anonymi Auctoris chronicon AD 1234 pertines* (Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1916–1920), 2: 125. Michael the Great offers several similar accounts. The Coptic patriarch Gabriel Ibn Turayk is said to be well versed in the Arabic language; see Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3: 614 (Syriac) and 3: 235 (French translation). See his comments on Basilius bar Shumanā (3: 631/262). He also refers to the Patriarch Georgios’ ignorance of Arabic and need to rely on Theodosius of Ḥarrān as an interpreter (4: 479).

49 See Peter Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance: Idee und Wirklichkeit* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955): 24.

50 See Abbeloos and Lamy, eds., *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon*, 2: 333 and 337. Similarly, Bar Maʿdani (d. 1263) studied Arabic in Baghdad after his appointment as Maphrian (2: 441).

and commanded a large following among the rural and urban populations. Bilingualism appears to have been the rule, so that prominent East-Syriac scholars were able to play a crucial part in the ʿAbbāsid translation movement.[51] Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī (first half of the ninth century), and Israel of Kashkar (d. 872) were among the outstanding pioneers of ecclesiastical literature in Arabic.[52] An important treatise in that language, known as the "Apology of al-Kindī" was composed in the ninth century.[53] The general shift from Syriac to Arabic, however, was a process that continued well until into the eleventh century. In the preface to his commentary on Genesis, Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (first half of the eleventh century) gives explicit evidence that his coreligionists' fluency in Syriac had diminished in favor of Arabic.[54] As compared to the Syriac-Orthodox communities, then, the Church of the East seems to have been much more arabicized, as we have already seen in the comments of Bar Hebraeus (see above). This observation is supported by the fact that the field of lexicography emerged mainly among East-Syriac scholars. All known Syriac-Arabic lexicographic works, beginning with Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's dictionary and continuing with those of his disciple Īshōʿ bar ʿAlī (d. 1001), Ḥasan bar Bahlūl, and Elias bar Shināyā, are of East-Syriac provenance.[55]

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51 For a study of the ʿAbbāsid translation movement, see Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*.

52 See the relevant chapters in *GCAL* 2: 103–219; on ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī in particular, see 210–211. On Israel of Kashkar; see Bo Holmberg, *A Treatise on the Unity and Trinity of God by Israel of Kashkar (d. 872): Introduction, Edition and Word Index* (Lund: Plus Ultra, 1989).

53 The edition of the text was originally prepared by William Muir, *The Apology of al Kindy: written at the Court of al Mâmûn (circa A.H. 215; A.D. 830), in Defence of Christianity against Islam* (London: Smith Elder, 1882). A more recent edition and translation is available in Georges Tartar, *Dialogue islamo-chrétien sous le calife Al-Maʾmûn (813–834): les épîtres d'Al-Hashimî et d'Al-Kindî* (Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1985). Comp. Laura Bottini, "The Apology of al-Kindi," *CMR* 1: 585–594.

54 Ibn al-Ṭayyib: C*ommentaire sur la Genèse par Ibn aṭ-Ṭaiyib*, ed. Joannes Cornelis Josephus Sanders (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1967): 1–2.

55 See the relevant sections in: Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, 1922); Rubens Duval, *La littérature syriaque* (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1970); and William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London: A. and C. Black, 1894). Earlier lists of Syriac homographs were composed by East-Syriac scholars, including Joseph Huzaya, a disciple of Narsai and Enanīshōʿ (second half of the seventh century), Īshōʿ Bar Nūn, and Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq. Ḥunayn's dictionary is now lost and known only from citations by later lexicographers. Īshōʿ Bar ʿAlī's dictionary has been edited by Georg Hoffmann, ed., *Bar ʿAlī: Syrisch-Arabische Glossen* (Kiel: Schwers'sche Buchhandlung, 1874), and by Richard James Horatio Gottheil, ed., *The Syriac-Arabic Glosses [of] Bar ʿAlī (Īshōʿ)* (Rome: Tipografia della R. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1910–1928);

2.4 The Copts

It has long been believed that the oeuvre of Severus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (ca. 905–87) marked the watershed of arabicization in the Coptic Church. The now-famous statement about the death of Coptic is contained in the introduction to the *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*:

> I requested the help of those Christian brethren with whose fitness I was acquainted, and begged them to assist me in translating the histories that we found written in the Coptic and Greek languages into the Arabic tongue, current among the people of the present day in the region of Egypt, most of whom are ignorant of Coptic and Greek, so that they might be satisfied with such translations when they read them.[56]

However, as shown by den Heijer, the passage should probably be attributed to Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarrij (ca. 1025–1100), a later compiler who supplied the introduction.[57] He lived roughly a century after Severus and eagerly gathered historical accounts in the Coptic language of the first sixty-five patri-

Bar Bahlūl's, by Rubens Duval, ed., *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule voces syriacas græcasque cum glossis syriacis et arabicis complectens* (Paris: e Reipublicæ typographæo, 1888–1901). Eliya of Nisibis's work, called *Kitāb al-tarjumān* ("Book of the translator") and arranged by semantic fields, was edited by Tommaso Obicini, ed., *Thesaurus arabico-syro-latinus* (Rome: Sac. Congreg. de propag. Fide, 1636). On the latter, see also Adam McCollum, "Prolegomena to a New Edition of Eliya of Nisibis's *Kitāb al-turjumān fī taʿlīm luġat al-suryān*," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 58 (2013): 297–322.

56 See Basil Thomas Alfred Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907): 15. Samir Khalil Samir ("Un traité inédit de Sawīrus Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (10e siècle): 'Le Flambeau de l'Intelligence'," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 41 (1975): 150–210, n. 2) draws attention to a similar passage in the *Kitāb al-īḍāḥ*, which he attributes to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. In the latter, the author laments the Copts' loss of their original language. The alleged authorship of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ is doubted by Swanson, who dates the composition to the thirteenth century, so that this statement, too, seems to reflect a later period. See Mark N. Swanson, " 'Our Brother, The Monk Eustathius': A Ninth-Century Syrian Orthodox Theologian Known to Medieval Arabophone Copts," *Coptica* 1 (2002): 119–140, on 122.

57 Johannes den Heijer, "Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarriğ et la genèse de l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie," Bibliotheca Orientalis 41 (1984): 336–347"; idem, *Mawhūb Ibn Mansūr Ibn Mufarriğ et l'Historiographie Copto-Arabe: Étude sur la composition de l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie* (Louvain: Peeters, 1989): 81–116; idem, "Coptic Historiography in the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid and Early Mamlūk Periods," *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996): 67–98.

archs of the Coptic Church. His Arabic translation of this compilation, which he produced, as noted, for a public that could no longer read Coptic, constitutes the first part of the *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*. His description accords with his own period and bears witness to the increasing spread of Arabic among Copts and the dismay this process caused in more conservative monastic circles.

It was probably only during the eleventh century that Coptic gradually died out as a spoken language; Arabic became the main written and spoken language of the Church by the end of the twelfth century. In order to adapt to the new linguistic situation, the Coptic Church actively fostered the translation of the ecclesiastic canon into Arabic.[58] As reported by Michel the Great, the Coptic patriarch Gabriel ibn Turayk II (1131–1145) encouraged translations of the Old and New Testaments into the vernacular, because most of the people no longer understood Coptic.[59] In his canons, Gabriel exhorted the priests to explain the Lord's Prayer, as well as the Doxology and the Holy Creed, in Arabic.[60] He further insisted on the place of Coptic literature in the primary-school curriculum, before instruction in Arabic.[61] As also emerges from the Copto-Arabic grammars composed by scholars in the thirteenth century, Coptic had become a classical language, known only by those who studied it from old texts.[62]

The most valuable evidence of the disuse of Coptic in the monasteries seems to be the "Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamun," which puts words of strong opposition to linguistic assimilation by monks in the mouth of the seventh-century saint, Samuel of the Monastery of Qalamun.[63] Originally composed in Coptic and usually dated to the tenth or eleventh century, it bears note that the

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58 For details, see Samuel Rubenson, "The Transition from Coptic to Arabic," in *Égypte Monde Arabe* 27–28 (1996): 77–92; idem, "Translating the Tradition: Some Remarks On the Arabization of the Patristic Heritage in Egypt," *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996): 4–14.

59 See Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 3: 235.

60 Otto Meinardus, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999): 283. The passage can be found in Oswald Hugh Ewart Burmester, *The Canons of Gabriel ibn Turaīk, LXX Patriarch of Alexandria* [*MS Arabe 251. Bibl. nat. Paris. Fol. 351r. Texte et traduction*] (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1935): 18–19.

61 Burmester, *The Canons of Gabriel ibn Turaīk*, 28–29.

62 See Alexis Mallon, "Une école de savants"; Gertrud Bauer, *Athanasius von Qus, Qilādat at-taḥrīr fi ʿilm at-tafsīr: eine koptische Grammatik in arabischer Sprache aus dem 13/14. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz, 1971); and the studies by Sidarus listed in the bibliography.

63 Jason R. Zaborowski, "From Coptic to Arabic in Medieval Egypt," *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008): 15–40. See also Jos van Lent, "The Apocalypse of Samuel," *CMR* 2: 742–752.

text survived only in Arabic translation. That some monks were hard pressed to master Coptic for their liturgical duties is reported also by Yūsāb of Fuwwa (thirteenth century).[64] In Egypt, unlike the Syriac-speaking lands, Arabic became the exclusive medium of daily speech for both the laity and monastics.

2.5 Jewish Communities

That Jewish communities of pre-Islamic Arabia used some form of Arabic been already has mentioned. In other areas settled by Arabian tribes, such as southern Palestine and Transjordan, the Jews employed Aramaic. Rabbinic sources sometimes mention the idiosyncrasies in the language of these communities.[65] According to Blau, a majority of the Jews living in Muslim lands, from Iraq to al-Andalus, adopted the Arabic language in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries.[66] Arabic gradually displaced the Aramaic vernacular, initially in the larger centers, and the Jews began using it in their everyday intercourse. The earliest attestation of a literary work in Judaeo-Arabic is a corpus composed in Early Phonetic Judaeo-Arabic Script (commonly abbreviated as EPJAS). The fact that these texts are written on papyrus assures a *terminus ante quem* of 900 CE. Their orthography is virtually unaware of Classical Arabic writing conventions and is based entirely on Hebrew and Aramaic spelling.[67] It has been suggested that the scribes spoke Arabic but had no acquaintance with the written language. Most of the papyri are of a documentary nature. Additional fragments in EPJAS, preserved in Genizah collections, come from the fields of exegesis and Bible translation (on the latter see below).[68] As a result of

64 Yūsāb Usquf Fuwwa: *Tārīkh al-Ābā' al-Baṭārika li-l-Anbā Yūsāb Usquf Fuwwa*, eds. Ṣamū'īl Suryānī and Nabīh Kāmil (Cairo: n.p., 1987): 148.

65 A. Cohen, "Arabisms in Rabbinic Literature," *JQR* 3 (1912): 221–233. See also S. Krauss, "Talmudische Nachrichten über Arabien," *ZDMG* 70 (1916): 325–326; Jan Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2003): 526–532.

66 See Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*.

67 Joshua Blau and Simon Hopkins, "Judaeo-Arabic Papyri: Collected, Edited, Translated and Analysed," in Blau, *Studies in Middle Arabic and its Judaeo-Arabic Variety*, 401–474; eidem, "On Early Judaeo-Arabic Orthography," ibid., 381–400.

68 For an example of exegetical texts, see David Sklare, "Scriptural Questions: Early Texts in Judaeo-Arabic," in Moshe Bar-Asher, Sarah Stroumsa, Simon Hopkins, and Bruno Chiesa, eds., *'A Word Fitly Spoken': Studies in Qur'an and Bible Exegesis, Presented to Haggai Ben-Shammai* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2007): 205–231 (Hebrew). A comprehensive edition and linguistic analysis of all known fragments is currently being prepared by Blau and Hopkins.

increasing exposure to Classical Arabic writing, most Judaeo-Arabic authors from the tenth century onwards adopted a standardized orthography molded by analogy to Classical Arabic orthography. The oeuvre of Saadiah Gaon (882–942) is seen by many as the beginning of the classical period of Judaeo-Arabic.[69]

Sources from the mid-ninth century on indicate that Arabic started being used in liturgical and educational contexts. Oral Arabic interpretations gradually took the canonical place of Targum Onkelos in the synagogue and gained such a degree of popularity as to necessitate intervention by the religious authorities. Natronai, the Gaon of Sura (fl. mid-ninth century), felt the need to address the pressing question of whether the abandonment of the recitation of the Targum in favor of an Arabic translation was permitted:

> Those who do not translate, saying: "we do not have to recite the translation of the rabbis [i.e. Targum Onkelos], we should rather translate in our language [i.e. Arabic], the one used in the public," those people do not fulfill their obligation.[70]

Natronai did not ban the use of the new vernacular for biblical translations. It appears, though, that the phenomenon spread to such a degree that the Geonim had to insist on the status of the Aramaic Targum. The Gaon concludes:

> If in some place the public wants [the Hebrew Scripture] to be interpreted to them, a person other than the one who recites the Aramaic translation may stand up and interpret for them in their language.

It is striking that his ruling draws heavily on the halakhic precedence of the earlier Aramaic translations.[71] A separate functionary must present the Arabic rendering, so as to draw attention to the different liturgical standing of the inspired Scriptures in Hebrew and Aramaic, on one side, and the translation

69 See Blau and Hopkins, "On Early Judaeo-Arabic Orthography."

70 Natronai Gaon: *Teshuvot Rav Natronai bar Hilai Ga'on*, ed. Robert Brody, (Jerusalem: Makhon Ofeq, 1994), 1: 152–154. The responsum is discussed by Haggai Ben-Shammai, "The Tension between Literal Interpretation and Exegetical Freedom: Comparative Observations on Saadia's Method," in Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Barry Walfish, and Joseph Ward Goering, eds., *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 33–50. The translation here is Ben Shammai's, except for my bracketed additions.

71 See Philip S. Alexander, "The Targumim and the Rabbinic rules for the Delivery of the Targum," *Vetus Testamentum Supplement* 36 (1985): 14–28.

into Arabic, on the other. Another geonic *responsum*, traditionally but erroneously attributed to Hai Gaon, takes a comparable stand. Its author explains that whereas the Targum originated in prophetic revelation, Arabic translations lack reliable authority.[72] Similar indications of the steadily increasing pace of the transition from one language to the other is provided by the *Risāla* of Judah ben Quraysh, active in late ninth and early tenth centuries in Fez. His description implies that the *Targum* had become incomprehensible for Jewish communities, which were now accustomed to Arabic.[73]

2.6 The Samaritans

The Samaritans have employed several languages in the course of their history: Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, and Arabic. Although it is hard to know with certainty when Arabic replaced Aramaic as the Samaritan vernacular, it is usually agreed that the shift was completed during the eleventh century, following a period of bilingualism.[74] Shehadeh, for example, draws attention to an interesting account in Yūsuf ibn Salāma's *al-Kitāb al-kāfī* ("The Sufficient Book"), which furnishes evidence that certain Samaritan communities started conducting their prayers in Arabic in that century.[75]

Further, it was precisely during the late tenth or early eleventh century that Arabic became established as the language of literary composition. Many of the earliest treatises in that language seem to deal with grammar; e.g. Ṭabiah Ghazāl ibn Dartha's *Qānūn ibn Darthā fī tartīb al-Miqrā* ("Ibn Darthā's Canon of Reciting the Torah)"[76] and *Qānūn ibn Darthā fī Miqrā* ("Ibn Darthā's Canon

72 Benjamin Manasseh Lewin, *Otzar ha-Gaonim; Thesaurus of the Gaonic Responsa and Commentaries, Following the Order of the Talmudic Tractates* (Haifa: n.p., 1939), 9: 130–131.

73 Becker, *ha-'Risalah'*, 116–119.

74 The question has been addressed by Hasib Shehadeh, "The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch;" idem, "The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch," in Alan David Crown, ed., *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr Siebeck, 1989): 481–516; and, most explicitly, in Hasib Shehadeh, "When Did Arabic Supplant Samaritan Aramaic?," in Moshe Bar-Asher, ed., *Hebrew Language Studies presented to Professor Ze'ev Ben-Ḥayyim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984): 515–528 (Hebrew).

75 Shehadeh, "When Did Arabic," 525–527.

76 See Paul Kahle, "Die Lesezeichen bei den Samaritanern," in Cyrus Adler and Aaron Ember, eds., *Oriental Studies published in Commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary, 1883–1923 of Paul Haupt as Director of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1926): 425–436; repr. in Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim, *'Ivrit*

of the Torah").[77] The Arabic column of the anonymous *ha-Melīṣ*, a trilingual biblical lexicon (Samaritan Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic), was also composed at this time.[78] Halakhic, apologetic, exegetical, and muʿtazilite works in Arabic were produced by Yūsuf ibn Salāma and Isḥāq ibn Faraj ibn Mārūth al-Ṣūrī, known as Abū al-Ḥasan, both of whom were active in the late eleventh century.

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va-Aramit nusaḥ Shomron: ʿal pi teʿudot shebi-khetav ve-ʿedut shebe-ʿal peh (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and the Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1957–77), 2: 362–373.

77 Ben-Hayyim, *ʿIvrit va-Aramit*, 2: 308–315.

78 Ibid., 440–616.

CHAPTER 3

The Rise of Arabic Translations

While we can more or less ascertain when the different communities adopted Arabic, the beginnings of the biblical translation genre remain largely obscure. Sections of the Bible in Arabic are attested in manuscripts from the ninth century onwards. But the question of whether translations existed prior to their being committed to writing, and especially before the rise of Islam, is a matter of scholarly debate to this day. The available sources, mainly culled from Muslim literature, do not settle the matter.

If the Muslim accounts are to be relied upon, some Jewish and Christian communities in the Arabian Peninsula were in the habit of elucidating Scripture in Arabic orally, in some form and to some extent. Suffice it to mention the statement given in the name of Muḥammad's companion, Abū Hurayra, in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*: "The *ahl al-kitāb* [the people of the Book] would read the Torah in Hebrew and translate and explain it to the *ahl al-islām* [the people of Islam] in Arabic."[1] In the light of the linguistic situation of the Jewish communities in the Arabian Peninsula, described above (Chapter 2), we cannot reject the possibility (and even the likelihood) of oral interpretation of parts of the Bible into Arabic. Some of the Prophet's eminent companions are reported to have visited a *beit midrash* (*bayt al-midrās*) more than once. Zayd ibn Thābit, who was charged with collecting the Qurʾānic revelation, is reported to have learned how to write in one of them. The *Ḥadīth* adds many additional references to *batei midrash*, such as those of the Māsika and Qaynuqāʿ clans.[2] The poet Umaya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt, described as apre-Islamic monotheist (*ḥanīf*), is said to have studied the Bible in traditional Jewish and Christian schools.[3] These would be a natural setting for the recitation of the Torah in Hebrew,

1 See al-Bukhārī: *Le recueil des traditions mahométanes, par Abou Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ismaîl el-Bokhâri*, eds. Ludolf Krehl and Theodor Willem Jan Juynboll (Leiden: Brill, 1862–1908), 3: 198; 4: 441 and 495. Some scholars doubt the credibility of such accounts altogether: e.g. Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992): 21–22; Moshe Zucker, *Rav Saadya Gaon's Translation of the Torah; Exegesis, Halakha, and Polemics in R. Saadya's Translation of the Torah* (New York: Feldheim, 1959): 5 (Hebrew).

2 Cf. Michael Lecker, "Zayd b. Thābit, 'A Jew with Two Sidelocks': Judaism and Literacy in Pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib)," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 56 (1997): 259–273.

3 The report is found in Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Durayd*: Kitāb al-ishtiqāq*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1854): 184.

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followed by an oral interpretation into Arabic.[4] Such renderings would have been transmitted orally by teachers and religious elites and crystallized into a local tradition. As elucidations of the biblical text, they began as an oral pendant to the reading of the weekly portion and were probably never studied independently. Contrary, however, to the statement attributed to Abū Hurayra, oral translation and elucidation would have served primarily the community's internal needs. Spreading the Torah to non-Jews was not intended, though it certainly happened. Early Muslims, as has been demonstrated in previous scholarship, had no direct access to an Arabic translation of the Bible, but knew a great deal about its contents and structure, via word-of-mouth transmission, as we will see below.

Some modern scholars believe that there were written translations.[5] Noteworthy in this context is Baumstark. Not only did he postulate that Arabic translations of the Gospel and Psalms were committed to writing even before the Qur'ān, he also claimed that a direct line of transmission could be drawn

4 The Jews of Arabia appear to have been more or less fully immersed in biblical and post-biblical (i.e. rabbinic and talmudic) lore. See Newby, *A History of the Jews of Arabia*, 70–77. They seem to have possessed scrolls or codices of the Torah, since early Muslims were familiar with the Hebrew script (*kitābat al-yahūd* or *khaṭṭ al-yahūd*); see Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957–1972), 1: 28–30; 2: 257. There are some indications that they followed Babylonian traditions, especially in the pronunciation of Hebrew. See the passage from al-Qirqisānī's *Kitāb al-anwar wa al-marāqib* (*Kitāb al-anwār wal-marāqib = Code of Karaite Law by Ya'qūb al-Qirqisānī* [*second quarter of the tenth century*], ed. Leon Nemoy [New York: The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1939–1943], 2: 16), translated in Bruno Chiesa, *The Emergence of Hebrew Biblical Pointing: The Indirect Sources* (Frankfurt: Peter D. Lang, 1979): 19.

5 Anton Baumstark, "Das Problem eines vor-islamischen christlich-kirchlichen Schrifttums in arabischer Sprache," *Islamica* 4 (1931): 565–566; idem, "Arabische Übersetzung eines altsyrischen Evangelientextes und die in Sure 21:105 zitierte Psalmenübersetzung," *OC* 9(3) (1934): 165–188. See also: Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 14; Ernst Algermissen, *Die Pentateuchzitate Ibn Ḥazms: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der arabischen Bibelübersetzungen* (Münster: n.p., 1933): 10–13; 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Maqdisī, "*Naql al-Kutub al-Muqaddasa ilā al-'Arabiya qabla al-Islām*," *al-Mashriq* 31 (1933): 1–12; Curt Peters, "Proben eines bedeutsamen arabischen Evangelien-Textes," *OC* 11(3) (1936): 188–211; idem, "Psalm 149 in Zitaten islamischer Autoren," *Biblica* 21 (1940): 138–151, idem, "Grundsätzliche Bemerkungen"; Raif Georges Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih. Teil 1. Der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23. Leben und Werk des Dichters* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972): 258, idem, "Quelques Réflexions"; Irfan Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984): 440; and Newby, *A History of the Jews*, 67, who even speaks of a "flood of translations." All of these authors, often following Baumstark's line of argumentation or referring to him directly, have no doubt that pre-Islamic translations existed.

from an alleged pre-Islamic version to the Arabic Gospels found in manuscripts written in the Melkite monasteries of Mar Saba, Mar Chariton, and St Catherine's. He asserted that the translation type exhibited in those manuscripts emerged among the tribal confederations of Christian Ghassānids or the Lakhmids and must accordingly be regarded as pre-Islamic. His assumption is based on an *argumentum ex silentio* that missionaries sent to these tribes would have employed the vernacular for the liturgy, as was the case with Syriac, Coptic, Georgian, and Ethiopian in the East, and with Gothic in the West. At a later stage, this version would have been adopted by the Melkites for missionary purposes among Arab Christians and reached Arabia.[6]

The premise that the prevalence of biblical motifs among early Muslims is linked to written translations that circulated is equally questionable.[7] It presumes that the Qurʾānic revelation unfolded in a total discontinuity from the Late Antique scriptural heritage. That the Bible in the sixth century had a long reception history in Judaism and Christianity, which is echoed in the Qurʾān and related literature, is ignored in an approach like Baumstark's. The silent vacuum of biblical traditions postulated in his view had to be bridged by assuming pre-existing translations into Arabic.[8] As shown by Griffith, the

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6 Failing to find direct codicological or textual evidence, he concentrated on the liturgical divisions exhibited in these manuscripts, which he dated as prior to the sixth century. See Anton Baumstark, "Die sonntägliche Evangelienlesung im vorbyzantinischen Jerusalem," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929/1930): 350–359. He found further support for his hypothesis in the famous mention of the Paraclete (Arab. *al-munaḥmānā*, from Syr. *mᵉnaḥmānā* in John 15:26) by Ibn Hishām in his recension of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq's *al-Sīra al-nabawiya* (Biography of the Prophet). See "Eine altarabische Evangelienübersetzung aus dem Christlich Palaestinensischen," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 8 (1932): 201–220; Alfred Guillaume, "The Version of the Gospels used in Medina circa 700 AD," *al-Andalus* 15 (1950): 289–296. This reading is found exclusively in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels (*The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, ed. Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson [London: C.J. Clay and Sons, 1899]: 24 and 187). According to Baumstark, it could have served as a *Vorlage* for an alleged Melkite translation into Arabic. See also Sidney H. Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic: An Inquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century," in *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine* (Aldershot, Hants and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1992), II: 143.

7 As claimed in varying degrees by Abbott (*Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 2: 257), Cheikho (Cheikho, *al-Naṣrānīya wa-ādābuhā*, 1: 254), Newby (*A History of the Jews*, 67), and Sprenger (Aloys Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed* [Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1869]: 132).

8 Biblical motifs in the Qurʾān and Islamic traditional literature have been the subject of many studies since Geiger (Abraham Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* [Bonn: Baaden, 1833]. For a survey and extensive bibliography, see Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*.

Muslim borrowings from the Late Antique scriptural heritage, however, can hardly have been based on a written text, but were the result of a continuing process of oral transmission.[9] Over time, previously revealed Scriptures had been embellished with *midrashim* and other diverse oral exegetical extensions to a degree that the layers became inextricably linked. It is precisely in this form that they were taken as a point of reference for early Islamic prophetology and seen as validating its message.

Muḥammad's early followers demonstrate a great familiarity with this tradition. Apart from the Qurʾān and post-Qurʾānic literature, evidence of biblical knowledge among Arabs before the arrival of Islam can also be found in early Arabic poetry, for example that of the aforementioned Umaya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt, a contemporary of the Prophet.[10] His poems draw heavily on episodes from biblical history and exemplify how biblical traditions were recounted in Arabic in the immediate milieu of the Qurʾān. Equally elusive in this respect is the Christian poet ʿAdī ibn Zayd al-ʿIbādī (al-Ḥīra, d. ca. 600).[11] The biblical narratives to which both poets allude have already been inseparably intertwined with exegetical elements from the rabbinic literature or Christian traditions.

Christian sources are unfortunately silent about the emergence of Arabic biblical translations in the early Islamic centuries. Neither the letter by Timothy I, Catholicos of the Church of the East between 780 and 823, which deals with biblical studies to his time, nor the rhymed catalogue of East-Syriac authors by Abdīshōʿ (d. 1318) mentions Arabic translations of the Bible or sections thereof.[12] The encyclopedia of religious knowledge by the Coptic scholar

9 See Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*.

10 I will not discuss the authenticity of some of his poems. Readers are referred to: Tilman Seidensticker, "Die Authentizität der Umaiya Ibn Abî s-Salt zugeschriebenen Gedichte II," *ZDMG* 161 (2011): 39–68; and Nicolai Sinai, "Religious Poetry from the Qurʾanic Milieu: Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt on the Fate of the Thamūd," *BSOAS* 74 (2011): 397–416.

11 Kirill Dmitriev, "An Early Christian Arabic Account of the Creation of the World," in Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, and Michael Marx, eds., *The Qurʾān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qurʾānic Milieu* (Leiden: Brill, 2009): 349–387; Isabel Toral-Niehoff, "Eine arabische poetische Gestaltung des Sündenfalls: Das vorislamische Schöpfungsgedicht von ʿAdī b. Zayd," in Dirk Hartwig et al., eds., "*Im vollen Licht der Geschichte*"*: Die Wissenschaft des Judentums und die Anfänge der kritischen Koranforschung* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2008): 235–256.

12 For Timothy's letter, see Oskar Braun, "Ein Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I über biblische Studien des 9 Jahrhunderts," *OC* 1 (1901): 299–313; Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Biblical Studies in the Church of the East: The Case of Catholicos Timothy I," in Edward Yarnold and Maurice F. Wiles, eds., *Papers Presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999: Historica, Biblica, Theologica et Philosopica* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001): 503–510. Abdīshōʿs canon was published by George Percy Badger, "ʿAbdishoʾ

Shams al-Riʾāsa Abū al-Barakāt, also known as Ibn Kabar (d. 1324), contains only sparse references to the genre.[13]

An exception is a passage in the Syriac chronicle of Michael the Great (d. 1199), which apparently draws on an earlier account by Dionysius of Tell-Mahre (d. 845).[14] It recounts how the Muslim governor of Homs, ʿUmayr ibn Saʿd al-Anṣārī, summoned the West Syriac Patriarch John Sedra (d. 648) and interrogated him about various christological issues, including the divinity of Christ. He ordered that the Gospels be translated into Arabic so that he would be able to understand the Patriarch's answers.[15] The relevant passage states:

> This emir Ibn Saʿd hated the Christians and it may be that he wanted to stop them calling Christ "God"; but whatever his motives may have been, he summoned by letter the Patriarch John. The interview was a strange one; but the patriarch, helped by God's Grace, answered all the emir's

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bar Brika (Ebed-Jesu), Metrical Catalogue of Syriac Writers," in idem*, The Nestorians and their Rituals* (London: J. Masters, 1852): 361–379.

13 The compendium is named *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulma fī iḍāḥ al-khidma* (The Lamp of Darkness for the Illumination of Service). The references are not found in Riedel's edition and in the German translation (Wilhelm Riedel, *Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abū ʾl-Barakāt*, Nachrichten der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-hist. Klasse 5, 1902), which covers only the first five chapters. Al-Ḥārith ibn Sinān's translations of the Wisdom books are mentioned in the sixth chapter, which is found in Abū al-Barakāt ibn al-Asʿad ibn Kabar*: Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓulma fī Īḍāḥ al-Khidma*, ed. Khalil Samir (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kārūz, 1971): 236.

14 Chabot, ed. and trans., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, Syriac: 4: 421–422 and French: 2: 431–432. On the attribution of this passage to Dionysius of Tell-Mahre, see Andrew Palmer, Sebastian P. Brock, and Robert G. Hoyland, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993): 102–103. On the debate see Barbara Roggema, "'The Debate between Patriarch John and an Emir of the Mhaggrāyē: A Reconsideration of the Earliest Muslim-Christian Debate," in Martin Tamcke, ed., *Christians and Muslims in Dialogue in the Islamic Orient of the Middle Ages* (Beirut: Orient-Institut and Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2007): 21–40. Also idem, "The Disputation of John and the Emir," CMR 1: 782–785.

15 François Nau, "Un colloque du patriarche Jean avec l'émir des agaréens et faits divers des années 712 à 716," *Journal Asiatique* 5 (1915): 225–279. Trimingham (*Christianity among the Arabs*, 225) identifies the emir with ʿAmr ibn Ṣaʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, whereas I follow the identification of Crone/Cook and Samir, cf. Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism. The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977): 162, n11; and Samir Khalil Samir, "Qui est l'interlocuteur musulman du patriarche syrien Jean III (631–648)," in Hendrik Jan Willem Drijvers, ed., *IV Symposium Syriacum, 1984: Literary Genres in Syriac Literature* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987): 396–400.

> devious questions. When the emir heard his spirited and fearless defence he said: "Put that Gospel of yours into Arabic speech for me and do not change anything except the word GOD, where it is applied to Christ, the word BAPTISM and the word CROSS. These words you are to omit." The Spirit strengthened John to answer bravely: "May Christ, my God, forbid that I should take away one jot or one tittle from my Gospel, even if I must be pierced by all the lances in your armoury. I would rather not write it at all." Impressed by this spirited protest and by John's manly character, the emir told him to go and write as he wished. Then the patriarch sent for pious people of the Banū Tanūkh and from ʿAqūlō (i.e. Kufa) and selected those most fluent in both Arabic and Syriac and who knew how to translate words elegantly from one language into another. When they had, with great difficulty, interpreted the Gospel at his command and collated it repeatedly, they produced immediately a final version in elevated calligraphic style free from technical blemes and most skilfully illuminated with (gold and silver) leaf. This they then presented to the governor ʿAmr b. Saʿd.[16]

The obviously apologetic character of the passage arouses suspicion as to its historicity, all the more so because no trace of the translation survived. A different version is found in John Sedra's own (possibly pseudo-epigraphic) letters in Syriac that recount the event.[17] As in Michael's version, the patriarch recounts that the emir ordered that the christological passages mentioned in the disputation be translated into Arabic for him. But after the Jew who was serving as interpreter made excuses and withdrew, the patriarch had to resort to members of the Tanūkh and ʿAqūlō tribes, knowledgeable in both Syriac and Arabic, for an oral translation of the passages in question.

Equally devoid of a historical basis is an account in Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *Historiae de Rebus Hispaniae*, which reports that Bishop John of Seville (fl. 1135–1153) translated the entire Bible himself from Latin into Arabic (*qui etiam sacras Scripturas catholicis expositionibus declaravit, quas ad informationem posterorum arabice conscriptas reliquit*).[18] Although he was renowned for his translations of astrological and astronomical, philosophical, and medical

16 The quotation follows Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland, *The Seventh Century*, 170–171.

17 London, BL, MS Add. 17193, fols. 73r–75v. Cf. *GCAL* 1: 35 and Rogemma, "The Disputation of John."

18 On the supposed translation, see Algermissen, *Die Pentateuchzitat*, 23; Henry S. Gehman, "The Arabic Bible in Spain," *Speculum* 1 (1926): 219–221. The historicity of the account was doubted by de Lagarde, *Die vier Evangelien Arabisch*, xii. His judgment is followed by

texts, an Arabic biblical version in his name is otherwise unattested. Monferrer Sala conjectured convincingly that the passage must be understood as referring to a commentary (*expositio*).[19]

Muslim authors, by contrast, frequently refer to an Arabic Bible. Even though translations are cited primarily in polemic contexts (see Chapter 4), some authors provide limited but valuable reports. For example, Mālik ibn Dīnār (Baṣra, second/eighth century), a disciple of the famous theologian Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, mentions that he would consult Arabic translations of the Scriptures in the library of a Christian monastery and even pilfered one of their copies.[20] The report that he consulted translations seems to be fictional, as is the pseudo-biblical verse mentioning Adam that he cites. Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), a theologian, polemicist, and man of letters, furnishes a short critique of contemporary Christian and Jewish translations in his *al-Radd ʿalā al-naṣārā* (Refutation of the Christians).[21] His disapproval is directed against selected features of translation technique, such as literal and anthropomorphic renderings, which he finds unacceptable on linguistic and theological grounds. Despite his obvious polemical stance, the possibility remains that he had some familiarity with Christian and Jewish Arabic translations in the ninth century.

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba (213–276/828–889), a polymath in the fields of philology and *adab,* reports that "the Torah, the Psalms (*al-Zabūr*) and all other books of God, may He be exalted, have already been translated into Arabic."[22] He asserts that the existence of multiple Arabic versions that are observably so different from one another attests to the lack of reliable transmission. This stands in contrast to the Qurʾān, which, according to Muslim belief, is untranslatable. A prominent account of biblical transla-

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Johann Gildemeister, *De Evangeliis in arabicum*; Tregelles, "Arabic Versions," and Nestle, "Bibelübersetzungen, arabische."

19 See Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "De nuevo sobre Iohannes Hispalensis y la primera versión árabe de las 'Sagradas Escrituras' izada en al-Andalus," *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos* 31 (1999): 77–105. Goussen had already proposed a similar explanation; see Heinrich Goussen, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur der Mozaraber* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1909): 17–18.

20 Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ wa-Ṭabaqāt al-ṣfiyāʾ* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī. Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿāda, 1932–1938), 2: 375.

21 See Miriam Goldstein, "Sa'adya's 'Tafsir' in light of Muslim Polemic against Ninth-Century Arabic Bible Translations," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 36 (2009): 173–199; Richard C. Steiner, *A Biblical Translation in the Making. The Evolution and Impact of Saadia Gaon's Tafsīr* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010): 100–108.

22 Ibn Qutayba, *Tāʾwīl Mushkil*, 16.

tors is also found in *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf,* the historiographical work by al-Masʿūdī (283–345/896–956).[23] It is found in a section on the Greek kings (*Dhikr mulūk al-yūnāniyin*). Drawing on the apocryphal Letter of Aristeas, he reports that Ptolemy, king of Egypt, commissioned the Septuagint. This leads Al-Masʿūdī into a lengthy discussion of contemporary translators of the Bible into Arabic.[24] He notes that the Septuagint has been rendered into Arabic several times. The best available version, he continues, is that by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, the renowned East-Syriac translator of the ninth century: "This version [i.e. the Septuagint] was translated numerous times, by earlier and more recent translators. One of them was Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, whose translation is held by many people to be the most correct of all."

No trace of that translation has come down to us. The numerous references to Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq in medieval Arabic biographical literature do not mention it, leading to doubts about its existence.[25] Moreover, the *Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 995 or 998) ignores Ḥunayn in the chapter on biblical translators, while the section on Ḥunayn's writings has nothing to say about a biblical translation.[26] This bears great weight, because Ibn al-Nadīm was well-informed

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23 al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf*, ed. Michael Jan de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1894): 112–113. The passage is discussed, among others, in *GCAL* 1: 88–89; Harry Austryn Wolfson, *Repercussions of the Kalam in Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979): 89–90; Joel Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam. The Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age* (Leiden: Brill, 1986): 83–84; Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 18–19; David Sklare, *Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon and his Cultural World: Texts and Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1996): 116–118; and Camilla Adang, "The Karaites as Portrayed in Medieval Islamic Sources," in Meira Pollaick, ed., *Karaite Judaism. A Guide to Its History and Literary Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2003): 179–197, there at 182.

24 Abraham Wasserstein and David J. Wasserstein, *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 177–178.

25 There is no mention of a Bible translation in the biographical entries on Ḥunayn by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (see Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa: *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbāʾ*, ed. August Müller [Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Wahbīya, 1882], 1: 200–203, 218); by Ibn al-Qifṭī (see *Ibn al-Qifṭī's Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ: auf Grund der Vorarbeiten Aug. Müller's*, ed. Julius Lippert [Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903]: 171–177); by Ibn Khallikān (see Ibn Khallikān: *Fawāt al-Wafayāt wa-l-Dhayl ʿalayhā*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās [Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1973–1974], 3: 217–218); and by Ibn Sāʿid al-Andalūsī (see Ibn Sāʿid al-Andalusī: *Kitāb Ṭabaḳāt al-Umam*, ed. Louis Cheikho [Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kāthūlīkiya, 1912]: 36–37). Some of these entries mention a world history. Since it is likely that this composition would have started with a section on biblical history, al-Masʿūdī might have mistakenly taken it for a translation of the Pentateuch.

26 See Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Nadīm: *al-Fihrist*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān (Beirut: Dār ʾal-Maʿrifah, 1994): 37–40.

about East-Syriac authors, such as ʿAbd Īshōʿ ibn Bahriz, Pethion, and Timothy I, having learned about them directly from a monk named Yūnis. So it seems likely that an Arabic version of the Septuagint came to be attributed to Ḥunayn solely because of his fame as a translator from Greek into Arabic. It did not elude Ibn al-Nadīm's attention that many works were attributed to Ḥunayn erroneously. Al-Masʿūdī seems to be better informed about Jewish translators (see below, Chapter 3.5) some of whom he met and debated with.

Another section of the *Fihrist* is devoted to the biblical books and their interpreters: *fī asmāʾ kutub al-sharāʾiʿ al-munzala ʿalā madhhab al-muslimīn wa-madhāhib ahlihā* (On the Names of Books of Law that Were Revealed to the Muslim Denomination and Denominations of their People).[27] It consists of three parts, dealing with Muslim, Jewish, and Christian authors respectively. Taking account of the geographical and temporal proximity, his sources for the Jewish and East-Syriac traditions appear to be quite accurate and correspond closely to our present state of knowledge about the scholars he mentions. Of Saadiah Gaon (882–942), for instance, Ibn al-Nadīm states the "he lived so recently that some of our contemporaries were alive before he died." He is one of the few Muslim authors who knows both forms of the Gaon's name—the Arabic Saʿīd al-Fayyūmī and the Hebrew Saadiah. His inventory of the Gaon's writings closely corresponds to what we know from Jewish sources:[28]

> The Book of Primary Principles [i.e., Saadiah's commentary on *Sefer Yeṣirah*], the Book of Precepts, an interpretation of the Book of Isaiah, an interpretation of the Torah without commentary, the Book of Proverbs consisting of ten chapters, an interpretation of the Book of David's Decrees, the Book of Subtle Points (Ar. *al-nukat*), an interpretation of the Book of Psalms by David, may peace be upon him, and an interpretation of the third book of the second half of the Torah with commentary [i.e., Leviticus], an interpretation of the Book of Job, a book on the necessity of the prayers and laws, and the Book of Intercalation (*Kitāb al-ʿubūr*), which is known as the Book of Dates.

By contrast, his account of the Muslim scholar Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salām, active at the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (reigned 786–809),

27 Ibid.

28 See Jacob Mann, "A Fihrist of Sa'adya's Works," *JQR* 11 (1921): 423–428; Samuel Poznański, "A Fihrist of Saadya's Works," *JQR* 13 (1923): 369–396.

cannot be taken literally.[29] Ibn al-Nadīm reports that he "translated" (*tarjama*), the "Sabian book of the pre-Islamic Monotheists" (*Kitāb al-ḥunafāʾ wa-hum al-Ṣābiyūn al-ibrāhīmiya*), as well as the Torah, Prophets, and Gospels from Hebrew, Greek, and Sabaean. As cited by Ibn al-Nadīm, Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh describes his translation as follows:

> . . . I have shortened the material that is unnecessary for an understanding of the reasons for their [i.e. the *ahl al-kitāb*] disagreements and differences. I have included what is needed for proof against them from the Qurʾān and the traditions concerning the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace, and from his companions, as well as the People of the Book who became Muslims, among whom were ʿAbdallāh ibn Salām, Yāmīn ibn Yāmīn, Wahb ibn Munabbih, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, Ibn al-Tīhān, and Baḥīr, the monk.

Although Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh stresses that he "translated" the Torah and Gospel letter by letter (*ḥarfan ḥarfan*), it is unlikely that he indeed produced a literal, running translation.[30] Such an endeavor seems far from plausible, given his supposed acquaintance with the source languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Sabaean. We may rather assume that Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh composed a work related to the fields of *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*/*Isrāʾīliyāt* (Legends of the pre-Islamic prophets and narratives on the Israelites), in which he retold the lives of the Old Testament prophets and the Gospels' account of Jesus. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that major representatives of this genre, such as ʿAbdallāh ibn Salām, Wahb ibn Munabbih, and Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, are mentioned here in the same context. Here the verb *tarjama* "translated" should not be understood literally, but given the sense of "compiled a short biographical

29 Nestle ("Bibelübersetzungen, arabische") ties him to the Jewish convert ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salām, an attribution that is followed by Ignatii Krachkovskii, "*O perevode Biblii na arabskii iazyk pri khalife al-Ma'mune*" [On a Translation of the Bible into Arabic to the Time of Caliph al-Ma'mūn], *Christianskij Vostok* 6 (1918): 189–196; Graf, *GCAL* 1: 88–89, n2; and Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm* (Leiden: Brill, 1996): 19–20.

30 The historicity of the account was accepted by Krachkovskii ("O perevode Biblii na arabskii") and by Margaret Dunlop Gibson ("A Letter of Harun ar-Rashid to the Emperor Constantine VI," in Matthew Black and Georg Fohrer, eds., *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* [Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1968]: 106–115).

account." Such résumés of biblical figures, in their islamicized form, were a branch of Muslim historical research and are known as *tarājim* in Arabic.[31]

Even though documentary evidence is of limited use in shedding light on the beginnings and development of biblical translations into Arabic, we can draw some general conclusions about chronology and forms of transmission. As the above discussion makes clear, the earliest and partial translations into Arabic, in pre-Islamic times, stemmed from the educational and liturgical needs of Jewish and Christian communities and were transmitted orally on the Arabian Peninsula and in adjacent regions. In the course of transmission, the actual biblical narratives and the post-biblical homiletic elucidations that accompanied them in the liturgy or study halls became inseparable. This is the form in which the stories of Old and New Testament figures were disseminated in the early centuries of Islam. The nascent Muslim community was eager to become acquainted with them, as is demonstrated by the reports about Abū Hurayra, the caliph ʿUmar, and, on a much larger scale, the Qurʾān itself and the early traditionalist literature. Some Muslim scholars, such Wahb ibn Munabbih, became authorities in the lives and deeds of biblical personages viewed as pre-Islamic prophets and recounting biblical history in general. This genre later coalesced as *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, the "Legends of the pre-Islamic prophets." Umaya ibn Abī al-Ṣalt, the poet and contemporary of Muḥammad's, seems to have made use of the same oral traditions. In the larger context of the transmission of biblical books in Arabic, the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* constitute a specific islamicized branch that mainly served the edifying purpose of reminding audiences of the fate of those who disobeyed God and his messengers.

There is no evidence of complete translations into Arabic in the Umayyad period. The account of ʿUmayr ibn Saʿd al-Anṣārī's confrontation with John Sedra indicates that only selected verses were translated, with the specific apologetic purpose of expounding Christian doctrine. Collections of proof-texts may have been disseminated separately and served as raw material for later disputations. Lists of biblical testimonia, possibly derived from such earlier collections, are found in the "Apology of Patriarch Timothy I," "the Treatise

31 See Dimitri Gutas et al., "tard̲jama (a., pl. tarād̲jim)," EI², 10: 224–234. *Tarjama* is used in that sense by Wahb ibn Munabbih, too, arousing similar confusion. See Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, 258; idem, "Quelques réflexions sur les citations de la Bible dans les premières générations islamique du et du deuxième siècle de l'Hégire," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 29 (1989): 269–278, idem, "Quelques Réflexions sur les citations"; idem, "Quelques Réflexions sur la Première ou les Première Bibles Arabes," in Toufic Fahd, ed., *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel* (Leiden: Brill, 1989): 549–61.

on the Triune Nature of God," and Abū Qurra's debate with Muslim theologians at the court of the caliph al-Ma'mūn.[32]

Muslim authors of the ʿAbbāsid period, such as the aforementioned al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn Qutayba, became increasingly aware of Jewish and Christian activity in translating the Bible into Arabic. It is no coincidence that it is the ninth century when manuscripts with sections of the Bible in Arabic are first attested on a large scale. The Arabic Bible became visible as a written text, in contrast to the earlier oral mode of transmission. The communities that produced these texts began with those books that were central to or significant for their internal needs. This meant, first and foremost, the texts used in liturgical contexts, but also books of popular appeal, such as the Wisdom literature. Christian translations of the Psalms and almost the entire New Testament are attested prior to the ninth century. The books of Ecclesiasticus, Job, and some of the Pseudepigrapha survive in early Arabic translations—most of them in multiple versions, because of the translators' different ecclesiastic affiliations.[33]

By contrast, the early Jewish translation enterprise focused on the Pentateuch, because of its central role in the synagogue service. In addition to the Pentateuch, translations of the Psalms, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, which all play a prominent role in the liturgy over the course of the year, are attested in early fragments from the various Genizah collections.

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32 For details, see Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*, 143–146; idem, "Arguing from Scripture: The Bible in the Christian/Muslim Encounter in the Middle Ages," in Thomas J. Heffernan and Thomas E. Burman, eds., *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2005): 29–58; David Bertaina, "The Development of Testimony Collections in Early Christian Apologetics with Islam," in David Thomas, ed., *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 151–173; and Mark N. Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting (2): The Use of the Bible in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies," ibid., 91–112.

33 Richard M. Frank, *The Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach* (*Sinai ar. 155 IX–X cent.*) (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1974), contains an edition and translation of an early Arabic version of Ecclesiasticus. De Baudissin edited London, BL, MS Add. 26116, which contains a ninth-century translation of Job (de Baudissin, *Translationis antiquae arabicae libri Jobi quae supersunt nunc primum edita* [Leipzig: Doerfling & Franke, 1870]). Another early fragment of that book, found in Sinai, MS Ar. 1, is discussed by Monferrer Sala (Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "Liber Iob detractus apud Sin. Ar. 1. Notas en torno a la Vorlage siriaca de un manuscrito árabe cristiano (s. IX)," *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 1 (2004): 119–142. For a tenth-century version of IV Ezra, see Adriana Drint, *The Mount Sinai Arabic Version of IV Ezra* (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1997). For a version the Apocalypse of Baruch, see G.J.H. van Gelder, Albertus Frederik Johannes Klijn, and F. Leemhuis, *The Arabic Text of the Apocalypse of Baruch. Edited and Translated with a Parallel Translation of the Syriac Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1986). Both texts are found in Sinai, MS Ar. 589.

Equally early are fragments of Proverbs and Job.[34] The historical books seem to have had the least appeal to translators, both Christians and Jews.[35]

With regard to the Arabic Bible as a physical object, Jewish and Christian translations differ in a number of respects. Rabbanite manuscripts are as a rule written in Hebrew letters. Qaraite scribal circles of the tenth and eleventh centuries regularly copied Judaeo-Arabic works in Arabic script. Since the various genizahs (Cairo and Firkovitch) are our main sources, some of the material is fragmentary. It is not uncommon to find trilingual manuscripts that juxtapose the Masoretic text with the Aramaic Targum and an Arabic translation (usually that by Saadiah Gaon).

Most Christian translations are in Arabic script. A bilingual fragment of Ps 78:20–31, 51–61 (LXX 77; see below, Chapter 3.1), with both the Greek and Arabic columns in Greek letters, is unique. In Ottoman times, predominantly Maronite scribes produced biblical manuscripts in Arabic written in Syriac script, a practice known as *Karshūnī*. Most manuscripts contain only particular divisions (the five books of the Pentateuch, the Prophets, etc.). Attempts to collect all the books of the respective biblical canons in one voluminous pandect manuscript, as found in the Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Latin manuscript traditions, were produced only later, in imitation of printed (Arabic) Bibles.[36] The advent of printing soon included Arabic versions as well and had an irreversible effect on the previous multiplicity of translations. After the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* rolled off the press in 1671–73 (Chapter 5.5), most communities abandoned their medieval versions in favor of this new translation, whether in print or in hand-copied exemplars.

34 So far only portions of the book of Proverbs have been published. See Joshua Blau, "On a Fragment of the Oldest Judaeo-Arabic Bible Translation Extant," in Joshua Blau and Stefan Reif, eds., *Genizah Research After Ninety Years, the Case of Judaeo-Arabic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 31–39; Simon Hopkins, "On the Vorlage of an Early Judaeo-Arabic Translation of Proverbs," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 27 (2002): 369–374. Additional fragments of the same manuscripts are: New York, JTS, MS ENA 2779.27; Cambridge, University Library, MS Mosseri VI 45,3; Cambridge, University Library, MS T-S Ar. 27.91 and MS T-S Ar. 28.16; and Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS 8.

35 Bengt Knutsson (*Studies in the Text and Language*) has only fifteen items in his inventory of Arabic manuscripts of the book of Judges. See Ronny Vollandt, "3–5.2.8 Arabic, Former Prophets, Secondary," in Emmanuel Tov, ed., *The Textual History of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). On the Judaeo-Arabic versions of the historical books, see also Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 599.

36 See Ronny Vollandt, "Making Quires Speak. An Analysis of Arabic Multi-block Bibles and the Creation of a Christian-Arabic Biblical Canon," forthcoming.

3.1 Melkite Translations

Not surprisingly in the light of their early adoption of Arabic, it was the Melkite communities that pioneered the production of Arabic versions of the Bible. The earliest efforts were centered in the monasteries of the Judean Desert and the Sinai Peninsula, where many ancient manuscripts are preserved to this day. But communities in Syria and Egypt, too, produced distinguished bodies of translation. The multilingual nature of the Melkite communities had a strong impact on their translations. The present section will briefly survey some prominent examples and their salient features.

One of the oldest surviving manuscripts in this category is the *unicum* Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 13. In its current form it contains the Gospels, translated from a Syriac *Vorlage*—probably the earliest extant Arabic translation of the Gospels—and the Pauline Epistles, translated from the Greek. This interplay of Greek and Syriac is one of the distinctive traits of the Melkite translation tradition. The codex is no longer complete. Luke is truncated, and Psalms, Acts, and the Catholic Epistles, formerly part of the original manuscript, are missing. It is thought to have been copied in the monastery of Mar Saba; on paleographic grounds, scholars date the codex to the early ninth century. Kashouh has shown that the manuscript, despite its early date, must have been copied from an even earlier exemplar.[37]

The translation is significant not only because of its age, but also because of the interesting translation technique it reflects. Even a cursory reading discerns the use of alternative renderings and exegetical expansions. Alternative renderings may be defined as the use of two or even three translation equivalents for a single unit of the source text, prompted by the desire to convey semantic subtleties. They are usually strung together by the conjunction *wa*. A few examples have to suffice here. In Mark 5:31, Syriac *de-ḥāḇṣīn lāḵ*, "[the crowd] that is thronging you," is rendered *tazḥamuka wa-taḍghaṭuka wa-tataḍāyaq ʿalayk min kull nāḥiya*, "that is crowding against you *and* pressing *and* besieging you from all sides." Similarly, *w-emr(ū) l-emānā aḇdānā hānā*, "they said, to what purpose is this waste?" (Matt 26:8) is translated as *wa-qālū mā hādhā al-isrāf wa-l-taḍyīʿ wa-al-fasād,* "they said, what is this squander *and* waste *and* dissipation?" A tendency to incorporate textual glosses can be observed, too.

37 Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, 162–165. The observation led Kashouh to conjecture further on the origin of this translation. Based on its archaic linguistic character, he argues for a pre-Islamic dating and settles for Najrān as its possible place of emergence. This scenario, however, was convincingly rejected by Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic,* 114–118.

These expansions are usually deemed by the translator a necessary response to the elliptical style of the Bible and seen as an attempt to fill in narrative gaps or make the biblical plot more cohesive. This may be illustrated by the rendering of *kulhon* ("all of them") in Mark 5:20. The verse, part of the account of Jesus' curing of the man possessed by demons, is elliptical in the original; without the context it is unclear to whom "all of them" refers. The translation expands this to *jamīʿ man samiʿa dhālik*, "and all who heard that." The interpolated words "who heard that" are added for clarity and link the verse to the preceding narrative, specifying that the crowd that had gathered around is intended. Another type of expansion seems to be exegetical. For example, the account of Jesus' transfiguration (Matt 17:1) reads *baʿda sittat ayyām inṭalaqa Yasūʿ bi-l-Ṣafā wa-Yaʿqūb wa-Yūḥannā akhīhi li-yutimm waʿdahu bihim*, "after six days Jesus went out with Kephas [translated literally as al-Ṣafā "stone" in Arabic], James, and John his brother, that his promise would be fulfilled through them." The Syriac lacks the last clause, "that his promise could be fulfilled through them," which seems to highlight Jesus' ensuing transfiguration as a fulfillment of God's promise mentioned earlier in Matt 16:28.

The manuscript that comes next in the chronology is an old Arabic version of the Greek Gospels, it too associated with the Melkite monasteries of southern Palestine. In contrast to the previous translation, however, it has come down to us in a large number of early codices. The earliest surviving evidence consists of two parchment fragments dated 873: Sinai, MS Ar. NF Parch. 14 and 16.[38] They constitute two *membra disjecta* of a single original manuscript.[39] On codicological grounds, Kashouh proposes that they are even earlier than Sinai, Ar. NF Parch. 8 and 28, which come from another separated codex. The earliest manuscript preserved in full seems to be Sinai, MS Ar. 74.[40]

It is not surprising that it were the multilingual monasteries of Palestine that produced such translations. The monastic communities of the Judean

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38 I thank Alexander Treiger for pointing this out to me. He is currently preparing a study of the colophon.

39 Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, 86.

40 See Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic;" idem, *The Bible in Arabic*, 118–120. A fuller inventory of manuscripts was presented by Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels*. Partial editions have been provided by Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung*, for Matthew and Mark according to Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. Ar. 95 and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Or. Oct. 1108; and by Amy G. Garland, "An Arabic Version of the Gospel According to Mark," M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1978, for Mark, drawing also on Sinai, MSS Ar. 72 and 74. A complete edition, based only on Sinai, MS Ar. 72, is found in Samir Arbache, "Une version arabe des évangiles: Langue, texte et lexique," Ph.D. dissertation, Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux III, 1994.

Desert and Jerusalem had a centuries-old custom of providing interpreters for speakers of Christian Palestinian Aramaic. An early testimony of this is found in the travelogue of a fourth-century pilgrim to the Holy Land:

> In this province there are some people who know both Greek and Syriac, but others only know one or the other. The bishop may know Syriac, but he never uses it. He always speaks in Greek, and has a presbyter beside him who translates the Greek into Syriac, so that everyone can understand what he means.[41]

Scholars have no doubt that the Christian Palestinian Aramaic version of the Bible derives from these oral interpretations.[42] A similar custom seems to have been introduced soon after the adoption of Arabic: translators rendered the weekly Gospel portions to the congregation in the new vernacular. These traditions, too, were written down, and are preserved in manuscripts such as Sinai, MS Ar. 74. Many contain a division into liturgical units that closely follow the earlier Aramaic tradition. They are commonly introduced by a brief rubric specifying when on the ecclesiastical calendar the portion that follows is to be read. For example, at Mark 1:1 we read: "the first lection; to be read during the Vigil of the Theophany at night, when the Holy Water is consecrated" (Arab. *awwal qirāʾa minhu yuqraʾu fī laylat al-qaland bi-l-layl ḥīn yuqaddasu al-māʾ al-muqaddas*); Mark 1:13 is introduced by "to be read on the Sunday that which falls after the Feast of the Holy Cross" (Arab. *yuqraʾu li-l-aḥad baʿda ʿīd al-ṣalīb al-muqaddas*). Further, the lexicon of the Arabic version shows a clear indebtedness to the earlier Christian Palestinian Aramaic interpretations, even though the Greek Gospels constituted the source text. It appears that the later tradition shaped itself on the translational prototype of the earlier.[43]

But it was not only in Palestine and Sinai that Melkites translated the major books of the Bible into Arabic. A bilingual Greek-Arabic fragment of Ps 78:20–31, 51–61 (LXX 77), first published by Violet in 1901, was found at the end of the nineteenth century in the *Qubbat al-Khazna* (the Treasure Dome) located in

41 As translated in John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travel to the Holy Land* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1981): 146.

42 See the insightful remarks of Marie-Joseph Lagrange, "L'origine de la version syro-palestinienne des évangiles," *Revue Biblique* 34 (1925): 481–504.

43 For examples, see Ronny Vollandt, "Christian-Arabic Translations of the Pentateuch from the 9th–13th Centuries: A Comparative Study of Manuscripts and Translation Techniques," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2011, 31, n122.

the compound of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus.[44] Violet's Psalm fragment is a unique document since *both* columns are in Greek script. The story behind the discovery is that Kaiser Wilhelm II was shown the *Qubbat al-Khazna* in Damascus after his historic visit to the Holy Land and told of its manuscript treasures. His diplomats negotiated with the Sublime Porte to allow a German scholar to go through the material and study it thoroughly. Bruno Violet, recommended by Hermann von Soden for this purpose, spent about a year in Damascus and separated all texts of non-Muslim provenance from the rest of the fragments. His collection consisted mainly of Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian texts and amounted to 1558 items. They were photographed several times, returned to Istanbul in 1908 and disappeared since then.[45] The bilingual Psalm fragment is today only found in the part of the collection of photographs that is kept at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin under the schelfmark MSS or. sim. 6. Although they were thought to have been lost in the turmoil of the Second World War, they have fortunately resurfaced in 1999.

Various dates have been suggested, but Mavroudi convincingly argued for the ninth or early tenth century.[46] Her conjecture is strengthened by two

44 It is known as the Violet Fragment in honor of its discoverer. See Bruno Violet, "Ein zweisprachiges Psalmfragment aus Damascus," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 4 (1901): 384–403, 425–441, 475–488.

45 The history of the photographs was reconstructed by Cordula Bandt and Arndt Rattmann, "Die Damaskusreise Bruno Violets 1900/1901 zur Forschung der Qubbet el-ChanzneChazne," *Codices ManuscriptManuscripti* 76/77 (2011): 1–20.

46 Maria Mavroudi, "Arabic Words in Greek Letters: The Violet Fragment and More," in Jérôme Lentin and Jacques Grand'Henry, eds., *Moyen Arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe à travers l'histoire* (Louvain: Peeters, 2008) : 321–354. Violet ("Ein zweisprachiges Psalmfragment") proposed the end of the eighth century on paleographic grounds. Hopkins classified it as Early Arabic and dated it to before 800 (Simon Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic: Based upon Papyri Datable to before 300 A.H./912 A.D.* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984]: 1–2). A similar dating is proposed by Joshua Blau (*A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic* [Jerusalem: Max Schloessinger Memorial Foundation and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002]: 68; and *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 1: 31); by Paul Kahle (*Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen: Texte mit Glossar und Literaturübersicht* [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1904]: 14); and by Rashid Haddad, "La phonétique de l'arabe chrétien vers 700," in Pierre Canivet and Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, *La Syrie, de Byzance à l'Islam: VIIe–VIIIe siècles* [Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1992]: 159–164). Macdonald and Corriente independently dated the fragment to the pre-Islamic era. See M.C.A. Macdonald, *Literacy and Identity in pre-Islamic Arabia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), I: 100–102; III: 50, 68 n62; Federico Corriente, "The Psalter Fragment from the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus. A Birth certificate of Nabaṭī-Arabic," in Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, ed., *Eastern Crossroads:*

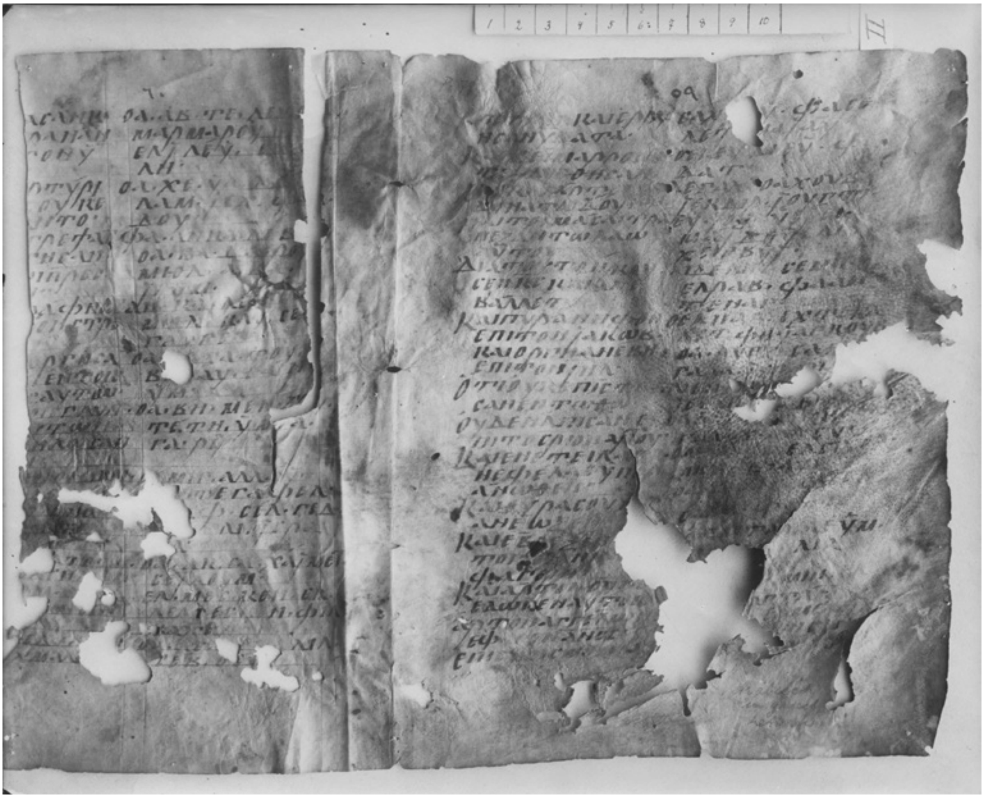


FIGURE 2 *Berlin, Fig. 2, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MSS or. sim. 6, fol. 31r, The Violet fragment, © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.*

additional observations: first, the same version is found in other early bilingual Greek-Arabic manuscripts. Most manuscripts of this version were produced in the ninth and tenth centuries, therewith concurring with her dating.[47] Secondly, the collection of photographs preserved at the Staatbibliothek zu Berlin contains another bifolium of the same text in the same hand, which however presents the Arabic column in Arabic letters and consequently

Essays on Medieval Christian Legacy (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007): 303–321. Macdonald later reconsidered his earlier dating and corrected it to the Islamic period (M.C.A. Macdonald, "Old Arabic (Epigraphic)," in Kees Versteegh, ed., *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* [Leiden: Brill, 2008] 3: 464–477).

47 A full list is found in *GCAL* 1: 115–116; to which Sinai, MSS Greek 34, Greek 35, and Greek 36 have to be added.

renders it difficult deduce an early, possibly pre-Islamic, dating in the light of the Greek script used.[48]

The text of the fragment is laid out in two columns, with the Septuagint on the left and an Arabic translation on the right. Both columns are written in Greek uncials in *scriptio continua*, with dots to separate words. The Greek has full accentuation and aspiration signs, but the Arabic, too, exhibits them (e.g. the rough aspiration sign is used for the letter /*hāʾ*/). The fragment consists of a parchment bifolium, with 33-line columns on each page. The writing support is of poor quality, having a rough surface with a visible grain.[49] Only one of the folios shows ruling, but the vertical alignment of the columns is not consistently followed by the writing. It is likely that the bifolium had previously been discarded and was subsequently reemployed by the scribe for its present purpose. The transcription of the Arabic translation in Greek letters is largely phonetic and discloses a strong neo-Arabic coloring. The scribe relied on the phonetic and orthographic conventions of Classical Greek, which he seems to have known from reciting the Septuagint or could have learned from handbooks of Greek grammar.[50] Nonetheless, his orthography does exhibit awareness of the pronunciation of Greek as spoken in his time, as for example the interchangeable employment of *eta* and *iota* to mark a short /i/ vowel. This suggests that both Greek and Arabic must have been the scribe's vernacular.

It is likely, then, that whoever prepared the fragment intended it as an *aide mémoire* to assist him in the study—and possibly public performance—of the Greek Psalms, assisted by an Arabic translation. The liturgical background of the fragment is also evident in its stichometrical arrangement. Each line consists of a half-verse from the Septuagint in the left column, juxtaposed with its literal translation in the right column. To facilitate comprehension, the Arab mirrors the Greek syntax and word order and observes a fixed lexicon of translation equivalents.[51]

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48 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MSS or. sim. 6, fol. 1r. Although it should be noted that the habit of writing Arabic in Greek letters existed, see Ahmad Al-Jallad, "Graeco-Arabica," in Greg Fisher, ed., *Arabs and Empires Before Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

49 Violet, "Ein zweisprachiges Psalmfragment," col. 386, calls it of poor quality ("ärmlich").

50 Mavroudi, "Arabic Words in Greek Letters," 323.

51 See the examples in Blau, *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic* and *A Grammar of Christian Arabic.*

In the ninth century, Bishr ibn al-Sirrī produced a translation of and commentary on Acts and the Catholic and Pauline Epistles.[52] His version is found in Sinai, MS Ar. 151, which was copied in 867 in Damascus for the benefit of Bishr's spiritual brother Sulaymān. The colophon of that manuscript states that he worked from a Syriac *Vorlage*. In Egypt, the priest (Arab. *al-qass*) al-ʿAlam al-Iskandarī translated the Major and Minor Prophets from the LXX into Arabic.[53] Scholars have dated him to the ninth century, but there is no solid evidence for this.[54] His *nisba* indicates that he accomplished this task in Alexandria. Further corroboration of al-ʿAlam's location may be provided by the fact that his translation exhibits close affinities with the Alexandrian text type of the LXX.[55] According to the colophons, he used "an ancient parchment codex written in Greek uncials" as his *Vorlage* (*min nuskha ʿatīqa raqq bi-qalam al-līṭun*). ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, deacon of Antioch in the eleventh century,[56] produced an Arabic version of Psalms that became canonical for the Melkite Church.

52 Biographical details, as well as other compositions associated with his name, are a matter of debate. See Joseph Nasrallah, "Deux versions Melchites partielles de la Bible du IXe et du Xe siècles," *OC* 64 (1980): 202–215; Sebastian Brock, "A Neglected Witness to the East-Syriac New Testament Commentary Tradition: Sinai, Arabic MS 151," in Khalil Samir, Rifaat Y. Ebied, and Herman G. B. Teule, eds., *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage: In Honour of Father Prof. Dr. Samir Khalil Samir S.I. at the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004): 205–216. He may have been bishop of Sidon. The translation and commentary were edited by Staal, *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151*.

53 See *GCAL* 1: 132–133, Alberto Vaccari, "Le versioni arabe dei Profeti," *Biblica* 2 (1921): 401–424; and Oscar Löfgren, *Studien zu den arabischen Danielübersetzungen*.

54 A comprehensive inventory of manuscripts is likely to shed new light on the date of composition.

55 Because his version is featured in the Polyglots, the text-critical value of al-ʿAlam's translation for the study of the Alexandrian text type has been pointed out frequently. See above, Chapter 1, n46.

56 See *GCAL*, 1: 116–119. In addition to his translation of the Psalter, ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl participated in the Antiochene translation movement of Greek Patristics into Arabic. See also Alexander Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Church Fathers," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 4 (forthcoming).

3.2 West- and East-Syriac Translations

We know of Arabic translations of several biblical books from a Syriac *Vorlage*, including the historical books and Ruth.[57] Ezra and Nehemiah also exist in an Arabic translation from the Syriac.[58] Some of these translations are quite early, notably a translation of Job from the Syro-Hexaplaric recension, found in the two parts of a ninth-century manuscript (London, BL, MS Add. 26116 and Sinai, MS Ar. 1).[59] The present stage of research, however, does not allow attribution of their translators to a specific ecclesiastical denomination.

There are, however, some groups of manuscripts that are clearly related to the Syriac-Orthodox Church. Al-Ḥārith ibn Sinān ibn Sunbaṭ al-Ḥarrānī, another of the few translators whose name has come down to us, translated the Pentateuch and wisdom books from Syriac into Arabic. Other than his name, though, much remains unknown about him. Al-Ḥārith is mentioned in al-Masʿūdī's "Meadows of Gold" (Ar. *Murūj al-dhahab*). Given that the Muslim historian finished his work in 956, this must be the *terminus ante quem* for al-Ḥārith's career.[60] His *nisba* indicates that he or his family originated from the Upper Mesopotamian city of Ḥarrān, which had an important Syriac-Orthodox community at that time. Manuscripts attach different epithets to his name: Istanbul, Süleymaniye, MS Carullah 3, for example, calls him a philosopher and commentator. The British Library has two manuscripts apparently related to his occupation as a biblical commentator. Both were copied by al-Ḥārith. The first contains a commentary on Mark and John by Lazare of

57 See Ronny Vollandt, "Arabic, Former Prophets, secondary," in Emmanuel Tov, ed., *The Textual History of the Bible*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); idem, "Arabic, Judith, secondary," in Matthias Henze, ed., *The Textual History of the Bible*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

58 For details, see Ronny Vollandt, "Arabic, Ezra-Nehemiah, secondary," in Tov, *The Textual History*.

59 Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, "Zur Geschichte der arabischen Schrift," *ZDMG* 18 (1864): 288–291; de Baudissin, *Translationis antiquae*; Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "Liber Iob detractus." See also *GCAL* 1: 126–127.

60 See Nasrallah, "Deux versions," 206. Modern scholars have proposed dates for his life ranging from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries. Cheikho (*al-Naṣrāniya wa-ādābuhā*, 87–88, 285–286) assigns him to the fourteenth century, a dating that is followed by Paul Sbath, *al-Fihris: Catalogue de manuscrits arabes*, 3 vols. (Cairo: Chark, 1938–1939). See also Nasrallah, "Deux versions." According to him, al-Ḥārith belonged to the Melkite Church.

Beth Qandasa; the second, a commentary on the Pauline Epistles, possibly by al-Ḥārith himself.[61]

His translation of the Pentateuch (**Arab^{Syr_Hex}1a**; see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts) is based on the Syro-Hexaplaric version of Paul, bishop of Tella (ca. 617). He added introductory chapters of two sorts.[62] The first is referred to as a *risāla,* in which he goes into great detail about earlier biblical translations, in response to the request of an unnamed patron. In particular, he describes Origen's *Hexapla*, including its arrangement in columns and the notational system used to indicate variants between the LXX and the Three. There are also introductions to each book of the Pentateuch, which, following the custom of Syro-Hexaplaric manuscripts, provide a short summary of the contents. Each chapter—corresponding to the *kephāleʾon* of Paul of Tella's version—is recapitulated briefly, using formulas such as *wa-yukhbaru fīhi* "it is reported," *wa-yushraḥu fīhi* "it is explained," *wa-yuqaṣṣu fīhi* "it is narrated," etc. In some manuscripts this last section is designated *fihrist* or *jawāmiʿ*.

Another text type (**Arab^{Syr_Hex}1b**) seems directly related to al-Ḥārith's version of the Pentateuch. Attested in a group of later manuscripts, it seems to contain a later popular revision of his translation. The manuscripts, which usually dispense with the *risāla* and the summary of contents, date from thirteenth century onwards; most were produced in Melkite communities. This group includes Sinai, MS Ar. 3, and the pentateuchal sections in Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 468 and St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS D 226 (at least partly; see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts).

Shams al-Riʾāsa Abū al-Barakāt's encyclopedia reports that al-Ḥārith also translated all five wisdom books: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Song of

61 See William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year 1838* (London: British Museum, 1870–1872), 2: 608–612. On the different attributions, see Nasrallah, "Deux versions," 209–210.

62 The introduction has been partly edited and translated into Latin. See Henry Aldrich, "Testimonia aliquot Scriptorum Orientalium de LXXII interpretibus eorumque Versione," in idem, *Aristeae Historia LXXII interpretum accessere veterum testimonia de eorum Versione* (Oxford: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1692): 131–144; Humfred Hody, *Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, versionibus Graecis & Latina Vulgata* (Oxford: e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1705): 622–625; Joseph White, *A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, Suggesting a Plan for a New Edition of the LXX. To which are added Specimens of some inedited Eastern Versions made from the Greek, and a Sketch of a Chart of Greek Mss. By the Rev. Joseph White, B.D. Fellow of Wadham College, Laudian Professor of Arabic, one of His Majesty's Preachers at Whitehall; and Editor and Translator of the Syriac Philoxenian Version of the Gospels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1779): 8–29.

Songs, and Ecclesiasticus.[63] This is, indeed, well attested in the manuscripts. The five books are usually transmitted as a unit, as the middle section of what is called *bēṯ mawṯbē* "the books of sessions" in the Syriac tradition, and preceded by a preface in which al-Ḥārith deals with Hebrew, Greek, and Syriac poetics.[64]

The distribution of manuscripts of al-Ḥārith's Pentateuch indicates that the text circulated predominantly in Melkite and Coptic circles, but the Syriac-Orthodox Church appears to have preferred a version of the Pentateuch composed of books from different origins and based on diverse sources. Genesis comes from a Syriac-Orthodox recension of Saadiah's translation (**Arab^{Heb}1a**; see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts). It is clearly distinguishable from the Coptic version (see below) and appears to have preceded it. London, BL, MS Add. 11855, dated 1024, is the earliest dated Christian copy of the *Tafsīr* extant. The next dated manuscript, Leiden, University Library, MS Or. 377, was completed in 1239/40 by a West-Syriac scribe, who introduces himself as Salām ibn Ismail al-Mardīnī, "of Syriac-Orthodox faith" (fol. 216v). His ecclesiastical affiliation provides important evidence as to the origin of this adaptation, which is also supported by textual evidence. Despite the conservative nature of the manuscripts of this branch, there is a noticeable attempt to harmonize the *Tafsīr* with the Peshiṭta. Some of the modifications introduce calques on the Syriac *Vorlage* and so create in retrospect a dependency on the Syriac text, especially in syntax and vocabulary. For example, *jinān* "garden," Saadiah's rendering of Hebrew *gan*, is systematically replaced by *firdaws* "garden, orchard," mirroring the Syriac form *pardaysā*. In Gen 2:7, the verbal form *khalaq* "he created" was replaced by *jabala* "he molded, he formed," echoing the *geḇal* of the Peshiṭta. The group of manuscripts containing this Syriac recension of Saadiah's *Tafsīr* of Genesis use texts with different origins for the other books of the Pentateuch. Exodus and Numbers stem from **Arab^{Syr}2** (see below), a translation of East-Syriac origin, while Leviticus and Deuteronomy are **Arab^{Syr_Hex}1b**.

By contrast, some translations can be assigned to an East-Syriac context. An early translation of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles survives in a codex brought to Europe from St Catherine's monastery by von Tischendorf in two parts, between 1856 and 1858. Presented to Czar Alexander II, it is now in the

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63 *Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓulma*, ed. Samir, 236.

64 See Micheline Albert, "Les "Bet Mawtbe" nestoriens," in Michel Tardieu, ed., *La formation des canons scripturaires* (Paris: Le Cerf, 1993): 155–168. For details on the preface, see Joseph Sadan, "In the Eyes of the Christian Writer al-Ḥāriṯ Ibn Sinān: Poetics and Eloquence as a Platform of Inter-Cultural Contacts and Contrastism," *Arabica* 56 (2009): 1–26.

National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, with the shelf mark Ar. NS 327. A colophon assigns the illuminated codex to 892. The translation was made from the Syriac and is without doubt of East-Syriac provenance. This is obvious from a rare reading in Hebrews 2:9, which reflects a prominent diaphysite variant in the second half of the verse: "that *without God* He might taste death for everyone," *dūna Allāh* in Arabic, whereas the received text has "by the grace of God." Here the Syriac Gospels used by the Church of the East reflect a scarcely attested Greek variant *choris Theou* "without God" instead of the expected *chariti Theou* "by grace of God."[65] Stenij produced a partial edition of Hebrews in 1901,[66] but further details about this version remain unavailable.

The physician, philosopher, and commentator Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1044) translated Tatian's *Diatesseron* into Arabic.[67] Little is known about his life and education, except that he studied and worked at the ʿAḍudī hospital in Baghdad and served as secretary to the Catholicos Elias I. He was a prolific author. In addition to his biblical commentaries, which usually also translate the verses addressed, he wrote a theological commentary on the entire Bible, the *Orchard of Christianity* (*Firdaws al-naṣrāniya*), a legal work, *The Law of Christianity* (*Fiqh al-naṣrāniya*), and several commentaries on philosophical works.[68] Tatian (d. ca. 170) composed his famous harmonization of the Gospels in Syriac, but only small fragments of the original survive. This makes Ibn al-Ṭayyib's translation of great importance for the reconstruction of the original work.[69] It is preserved in a large number of manuscripts, attesting

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65 This example and additional East-Syriac readings were discussed by Frantz Delitzsch, "Über eine alte arabische Handschrift des Hebräerbriefes," in idem, *Commentar zum Briefe an die Hebräer: mit archäologischen und dogmatischen Excursen über das Opfer und die Versöhnung* (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1857): 764–768.

66 Edvard Stenij, *Die altarabische Übersetzung der Briefe an die Hebräer, an die Römer und an die Corinther. Aus einem in St. Petersburg befindlichen Codex Tischendorfs vom Jahre 892 n. Chr.* (Helsingfors: Frenckellska Tryckeri-Aktiebolaget, 1901).

67 It has been edited twice. See Augustino Ciasca, *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice* (Rome: Ex typographia Polyglotta, 1888); Augustin-Sebastien Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatien: Texte arabe établi, traduit en français, collationné avec les anciennes versions syriaques, suivi d'un évangile diatessarique syriaque et accompagné de quatre planches hors-texte* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1935). The reader is referred to the survey of the vast secondary literature by Peter Joosse, "An Introduction to the Arabic Diatessaron," *OC* 83 (1999): 72–129.

68 His commentary on the book of Genesis has been edited; see Sanders, *Commentaire sur la Genèse.*

69 See William L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 1994): 133–138.

to its popularity in the Arabophone Church of the East, as well as in West-Syriac communities. Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Arabic *Diatesseron* probably became their preferred version of the Gospels in Arabic.

The East-Syriac scholar Pethion ibn Ayyūb al-Sahhār al-Tarjumān translated Job, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Ecclesiasticus into Arabic.[70] He must have been active in the ninth century, since he mentions ʿAbdallāh ibn Kullāb (d. ca. 850) as his younger contemporary. Furthermore, references to his translations are found in the *Fihrist*. Ibn al-Nadīm calls him "the most accurate of the translators from the point of view of translation, also the best of them for style and diction."[71] His positive verdict seems confirmed by Pethion's translation strategy, which employs an elegant Arabic of a high register. Frank draws attention to Pethion's use of Qurʾānic terminology and adherence to Muslim vocabulary.[72] Pethion's is a free translation. Although there are interpretative expansions, his approach to rendering the source text features the use in Arabic of cognate roots to the Syriac source. This characteristic, already noted with regard to the Syriac adaptation of Saadiah's *Tafsīr* and prominent in the Pentateuch translation described below, is a hallmark of Syriac translation technique in general.

In addition to a version of the Pentateuch (**Arab^{Syr1}**), based on the Peshiṭta and studied extensively in Part Two of this work, there exist two other Arabic versions with a Syriac *Vorlage* (**Arab^{Syr2}** and **Arab^{Syr3}**, see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts). All three translations are to a certain degree similar and in some verses even identical. **Arab^{Syr1}**, however, is largely written in Classical Arabic and includes many allusions to Qurʾānic vocabulary, whereas **Arab^{Syr2}** is of a more didactic translation type, largely imitative of the Syriac *Vorlage* and exhibiting a distinct translation technique. **Arab^{Syr3}** appears to be a compromise between the two methods. **Arab^{Syr2}** is particularly valuable for the text-critical study of the Peshiṭta Pentateuch, because it appears to be based on an ancient *Vorlage* with close affinities to manuscript 5b1 in the standard Leiden edition. The older parts of 5b1 (London, BL, MS Add. 14425, copied by an East-Syriac scribe in 463), are considered to be a prominent

70 On him, see Alberto Vaccari, "Le versioni arabe dei Profeti," *Biblica* 3 (1922): 401–423; Löfgren, *Studien zu den arabischen Danielübersetzungen*, 50; Richard M. Frank, "The Jeremias of Pethion ibn Ayyūb al-Sahhār," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 21 (1959): 136–170; idem, "The Book of Jeremias and Lamentations in the Arabic Translation of Pethion Ibn Ayyub Al Sahhar," Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1959. The book of Ecclesiasticus has also been edited by him: Frank, *The Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach*. On his translation of Job, see *GCAL* 1: 126.

71 Dodge, *The Fihrist*, 1: 46.

72 See the examples in Frank, "The Jeremias of Pethion," as well as the comments in *GCAL* 1: 134.

representative of the earliest stage of transmission of the Pentateuch Peshiṭta. It is well known that the text of the Peshiṭta underwent considerable changes before its stabilization as a *textus receptus* in the ninth century. Three successive stages are commonly distinguished: the first, prior to the sixth century; the second, manuscripts from the sixth to eight centuries; and the *textus receptus*.[73] Many readings in **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr2}}$ correspond to the text type of the earliest stage of transmission. For example, Gen 19:15, "dawn ascended after the destruction of Sodom," is *s*^{e}*leq shaprā* in the Syriac *textus receptus*. 5b1, however, reads *s*^{e}*leq ṣaprā* "the morning ascended," similar to **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr2}}$**,** which has *lammā ḥasuna al-ṣubḥ* "and when it was morning." In the *textus receptus* of Gen 26:31, Isaac and Abimelech take an oath to each other, *geḇar l-aḥūhe*, "man to his brother." But 5b1 has *geḇar le-ḥaḇrēh* "man to his companion," as reflected in the reading of **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr2}}$ *li-ṣāḥibihi*, "to his companion." Similarly, the *textus receptus* of Gen 41:8, "no one was found to interpret Pharaoh's dream," has *layṯ de-parresh* "no one," whereas 5b1 has *layṯ enāsh* "no man." This reading appears to underlie *lam yujad insān* "there was no man" in **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr2}}$.

It is clear that the translation emerged in East-Syriac communities. For example, it employs the term *aṣḥāḥ* to designate chapters of the biblical text, reflecting the Syriac *ṣeḥāḥā*. According to Brock, the division into numbered *aṣḥāḥ* was introduced by East-Syriac scribal circles of the ninth century.[74] Another indication of this provenance is the representation of proper nouns. Particularly enlightening in this context are the names of the wells that produced enmity between Isaac and Abimelech in Gen 26. For example, the well Eseq in verse 26 is *ʿAsqā* in Arabic, a simple phonetic transcription of the Syriac form *ʿAsqā*. Beer Sheba is likewise given as *Bīr Shabʿā*. It may be observed that these transcriptions represent the East-Syriac pronunciation of Syriac. In the West-Syriac tradition, the long vowel /ā/, called *zeqāfā* in Syriac grammatical terminology, shifted to /ō/. Another telling example is the city of Zoar in Gen 19:23, given as *Ṣāʿār* in the translation. In contrast to its West-Syriac vocalization with a double *petāḥā* (= *Ṣaʿar*), it is vocalized with two *zeqāfā*'s (= *Ṣāʿār*)

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73 On the different stages of textual transmission of the Peshiṭta Pentateuch, see Marinus D. Koster, *The Peshiṭta of Exodus: The Development of Its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977); idem, "Redating TR and BTR. The Three Stages at Stake," *Aramaic Studies* 1 (2009): 1–18; P.B. Dirksen, "East and West, Old and Young, in the Text Tradition of the Old Testament Peshitta," *Vetus Testamentum* 35 (1985): 468–484.

74 See Sebastian Brock, "Text History and Text Division in the Peshiṭta Isaiah," in Peter B. Dirksen and Martin Jan Mulder, eds., *The Peshiṭta: Its Early Text and History* (Leiden: Brill, 1988): 49–80, esp. 72. This is discussed in greater detail below (Appendices, Text Divisions).

in the East-Syriac reading tradition. Hence it was phonetically transcribed by two *alīf*s to indicate the long value of the two vowels. Thirdly, some interpretative translations seem to reflect the translator's East-Syriac exegetical background. For example, *de-qerāʾ shemēh Bar-Sabaʿ* (Gen 26:33) is rendered, "he called it the well of Sheba, *that is the quenching,* and therefore that city is called the quenching well." The interpolated words derive the name of the well from the root *s-b-ʿ*, "quench." This explanation is also found in MS Diyarbakir 22, an anonymous eighth-century commentary on the Pentateuch, and in the commentary by Ishōʿdad of Merv, active in the ninth century.[75] Both of these are usually considered representative of East-Syriac exegesis. Further, in Exod 6:2 the name of God *El Shaday* is translated as *Allāh al-wāʿid* "the God of Promises." As the commentary in MS Diyarbakir explains, this is "according to the Syriac language, i.e., the God of Promises."[76]

Two features in the translation technique stand out: the use of alternative renderings and the insertion of textual glosses. Alternative renderings are illustrated by the translation of *ʿeshant menan* (Gen 26:16) as *ṣirta aʿazz wa-aʿẓam minnā* "and you became more powerful *and mightier* than we." The alternates replicate nuances in the Syriac meaning of the lexeme *ʿeshen*. For *wa-hewā zeban mawlādāh* (Gen 38:27), **Arab^{Syr}2** has *fa-lammā balagha ḥīnu wilādihā wa-ḥaḍarahā al-makhāḍ* "it was the time of her giving birth *and her labor was upon her*." Often, one of the alternatives presents a literal rendering, whereas the second is idiomatic in Classical Arabic usage. This can be seen clearly in the last example. The frequent interpretative expansions serve two functions. Sometimes they provide a short gloss to elucidate the text, as in Gen 2:14. The translation of the toponym *Āṯūr* (Ashur) is followed by its identification with the city of Mosul: "Āṯūr, and this is Mosul." Another function of these additions is to create cohesion. For example, Rebecca's plot with her son Jacob in Gen 27:14 ends with a simple *w-aytī l-emēh* "and he brought to his mother." **Arab^{Syr}2**, in contrast, has *wa-atā ummahu bi-mā amarathu* "and he brought to his mother *what she commanded him,*" which links the verse to the preceding narrative. The addition creates a stylistic cohesiveness that is absent from the source text.

Arab^{Syr}2 was a popular translation and is found in many manuscripts from diverse places, including Egypt and Spain (see Appendices, Inventory

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75 See Jacques-Marie Vosté and Ceslas van den Eynde, eds., *Commentaire d'Išo'dadh de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament* (Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1950–81) 1: 182; Lucas van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9,32 du manuscrit* (*olim*) *Diyarbakir 22* (Louvain: Peeters, 1986): 94.

76 See van Rompay, *Commentaire sur Genèse-Exode*, 142.

of Manuscripts). Not only did **Arab^{Syr}2** come to be the preferred translation of the Peshiṭta Pentateuch, it completely supplanted **Arab^{Syr}1**. Sinai, MS Ar. 4, copied in 963, is the earliest attested manuscript and serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the emergence of that version. The striking similarities to ʿAlī ibn Rabban's citations may indicate that it already existed in the ninth century (see Chapter 4.1).

It can thus be suggested that the Syriac-speaking churches produced a corpus of Arabic translations of the main biblical books before the end of the ninth century, in parallel to the efforts by the Melkites. This can be seen in particular with regard to the Church of the East, since many early Arabic versions exhibit a close relationship to this community. The effort to create such a corpus appears to have been less concerted among their West-Syriac coreligionists. With regard to the Pentateuch at least, West-Syriac communities absorbed versions of different origins, adapted the different books according to their needs, and joined them in one volume. Al-Ḥārith's translation was transmitted and adopted by Melkite and Coptic scholarly circles. A comparison with the early Melkite translation enterprise, furthermore, indicates that several translation techniques distinguish the work by the Church of the East. First, the proximity between Syriac and Arabic lent itself to the extensive use of cognate roots and homophonic translation equivalents in the target language. In addition, all the translations resemble each other in their use of alternative renderings and interpretative textual expansions. These features are distinctive of East-Syriac translation technique and can also be observed in the Arabic version of the Pentateuch, discussed in Part Two of the present study.

3.3 Coptic Translations

The Coptic tradition of Arabic versions of the Bible differs from the Syriac and Melkite ones in many ways. Because the Copts seem to have used Arabic only very reluctantly and sparsely until well into the twelfth century (see above), the need to translate the Scriptures emerged much later than in the other Churches. Although it cannot be ruled out that partial translations of the Pentateuch—e.g. in lectionaries—were written down earlier, the earliest manuscript evidence dates from the first half of the thirteenth century. As demonstrated by Rhode, the Coptic Church employed multiple Arabic versions of the Pentateuch.[77] A translation (**Arab^{Copt}**) from the Coptic appears mainly in bilingual Coptic-Arabic codices, first attested as a later addition in the outer

77 See Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*.



FIGURE 3 *Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,* MS *Copt. 1, 1r, An example of* ***Arab***^{Copt}*,* *© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.*

margins of Vatican, BAV, MS Copt. 1. The marginal text appears to be a faithful translation of the Bohairic version in the older part of the codex. Later, the translations were copied in bilingual manuscripts that were designed from the outset to present both languages (see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts). Although the idiosyncrasies of this version have not been fully studied and await further research, there are strong indications that it was influenced by Saadiah's *Tafsīr*.[78]

78 Selected features in the translation technique of this version have been discussed briefly by Ofer Livne-Kafri, "A Note on Coptic and Judaeo-Arabic on the Basis of Bilingual Manuscript to the Pentateuch," *Massorot* 12 (2002): 97–101 (Hebrew); idem, "Appendix II: Some Notes concerning the Arabic Version," in Ariel Shisha-Halevy, ed., *Topics in Coptic*

A second group of manuscripts contains the translation and commentary of the Coptic convert to the Melkite creed, Mark ibn al-Qunbar.[79] Many of these manuscripts, however, include Saadiah's *Tafsīr* as well. Although his version never acquired official status in the Coptic Church, it was the most widely diffused and enjoyed great popularity (see **Arab^{Heb}1b** in Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts). All the manuscripts contain the same text type with minor variations and exhibit the same chapter divisions, based on the Coptic tradition.[80] The earliest dated manuscript is Florence, BML, MS Or. 112 (olim 21), which was copied in 1245/46. Coptic adaptations of the *Tafsīr* exceed the number of bilingual codices with a translation from a genuine Coptic *Vorlage* by almost 3 to 1. The *Tafsīr* was in heavy use until quite recent times and accorded something of a canonical status. This is clear not only from the sheer number of surviving manuscripts, but also—and all the more so—in light of the frequency with which it was revised, augmented, and adorned with prefaces, short treatises, and commentaries by Coptic scholars.[81] These manuscripts, of which only a few have been subjected to a thorough investigation, provide evidence that the *Tafsīr* was a popular object of study and that its transmission was carefully safeguarded.

A hitherto unknown collaboration by Jewish and Coptic scholars in thirteenth-century Cairo, who studied the *Tafsīr* together, was described in Chapter 1. Thanks to the expertise of Abū al-Majd, a leading member of the Rabbanite congregation, an unnamed Coptic intellectual attached a "text-critical" apparatus to his own manuscript. Although his main purpose was to

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Syntax: Structural Studies in the Bohairic Dialect (Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007): 685–694; idem, "A Note on the Energicus in a Coptic-Arabic Translation of the Pentateuch," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 62 (2009): 405–411.

79 Probably born in Zifta, located in the province of al-Gharbiya in the Nile delta, he died in 1208 in the Melkite monastery of Dayr al-Quṣayr. Ibn al-Qunbar composed a commentary and translation of the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, often erroneously attributed to St Ephrem or Cyril of Alexandria in the manuscripts. Habitually, the translation units consist of several verses following the accepted liturgical division of the Melkite Church. They are introduced by the formula *qāla al-kitāb* "the Scripture says" and followed by Ibn al-Qunbar's commentary, Arab. *qāla al-mufassir*. As shown by Graf (Georg Graf, "Ein arabischer Pentateuchkommentar des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Biblica* 23 (1924): 113–138), the commentary, which is attested in a shorter and a longer recension, chiefly deals with monastic concerns in a homiletic manner. Some manuscripts, such as Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 9, contain only the detached translation. For an inventory, see Samir Khalil Samir, "Vie et oevre de Marc ibn-Qunbar," in Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl, ed., *Christianisme d'Égypte: hommages à René-Georges Coquin* (Paris and Louvain: Peeters, 1995): 123–158.

80 Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113.

81 These are described in detail below (Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts).

establish the text as accurately as possible, his enterprise went far beyond the simple collation of his own copy with the Jew's. He also inserted lexical comments and explanations about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Saadiah's translation. For the Copts, the *Tafsīr* served as a reference to the unaltered Torah, whose text had become corrupted in the various versions used by Christians.

This willingness to integrate foreign traditions and adapt them to their own needs is characteristic of the Coptic approach to biblical versions in Arabic. Because of their comparatively late adoption of Arabic, the Copts found themselves in need of biblical translations at a time in which most other communities already had well-established traditions. While direct translations from the Coptic, such as the aforementioned Arabic version of the Pentateuch, are attested, it seems that Coptic scholars generally preferred to use existing translations. In addition to the examples mentioned above, al-Ḥārith's translation of the Pentateuch was popular among Coptic communities. The Arabic version of the Gospels used by them derives from the Syriac, subsequently taken over and adapted by the Copts.[82] Ironically, this text came to be known as the "Alexandrian Vulgate."[83] In a similar manner, the Melkite al-ʿAlam's Arabic version of the Major and Minor Prophets, discussed above, was revised and incorporated into the Coptic canon.[84] These Arabic translations of external origin supplanted earlier translations directly from the Coptic. Like the aforementioned bilingual Pentateuch manuscripts, they were copied alongside the Coptic and survived in a handful of copies.[85]

3.4 Mozarabic Translations

Much like the aforementioned Christian denominations, the Spanish Mozarabs, too, needed translations of the scriptures into Arabic. Their enterprise, however, did not encompass the entire Old and New Testaments, but only the books central to the liturgy. Some of the translations are remarkably early. Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī rendered Psalms into Arabic in 889.[86] Little is known about his

82 See Kashouh, *Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, 205–257.

83 The appellation "Alexandrian Vulgate" has its origin in the Medici Gospels printed in 1590/1591, which contained this version (see below, Chapter 5).

84 See Löfgren, *Studien zu den arabischen Danielübersetzungen,* 43.

85 See, for example, the manuscripts referred to in *GCAL*, 1: 133–134 and 155–157.

86 For details, see Adolf Neubauer, "Hafs al-Qouti," *REJ* 30 (1895): 65–69; Margaret Dunlop Gibson, "Ḥafṣ ibn Albar—The Last of the Goths," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3/4 (1954): 137–151; eadem, "Sobre Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī al-Qurṭubī," *al-Andalus* 20 (1955):

intellectual biography, except that he was the *qāḍī* of the Christian community in Cordoba. The translation, as well as his preface to the book, is composed entirely in the *rajaz* meter and quoted by the famous Jewish philosopher, linguist, and poet Moses Ibn Ezra in his *Book of Conversation and Deliberation* (*Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa-l-mudhākara*).[87] As for the New Testament, a fragment of a bilingual Arabic-Latin Galatians has survived.[88] The manuscript, Vatican, BAV, MS Lat. 12900 (formerly Chapter of the Cathedral of Sigüenza, MS 150), is dated on paleographical grounds to the ninth century. There is also an Arabic translation of the Gospels by Isaac ibn Velasquez (Isḥāq ibn Balashk), dated 946.[89] Not much is known about him, either. The manuscripts, however, refer to him as Cordoban. His *Vorlage* was the Old Latin version, strongly influenced

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211–213; Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "Salmo 11 en versión árabe versificada: Unas notas en torno a las fuentes del Psalterio de Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī," Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos [= Homenaje a Prof. Antonio Torres Fernández] 49 (2000): 303–319; idem, "Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī," in *CMR* 2: 281–284; Arie Schippers, "Hafs al-Qûtî's Psalms in Arabic Ragaz Metre (Ninth Century): A Discussion of Translations from Three Psalms (Ps. 50, 1 and 2)," in Urbain Vermeulen and J.M.F. van Reeth, eds., *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society* (Peeters: Leuven, 1998): 133–146. An edition and translation was prepared by Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, *Le Psautier mozarabe de Hafs Le Goth* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1994).

87 The preface was translated by Dunlop Gibson, "Ḥafṣ ibn Albar." On the quotations in Moshe Ibn Ezra, see Martin Schreiner, "Le Kitab al-Mouhadara de Moïse b. Ezra," *REJ* 21 (1891): 98–117; 22 (1892): 62–81, there at 21:1890): 100; Neubauer, "Hafs al-Qouti."

88 See Donatien de Bruyne and Eugène Tisserant, "Une feuille arabo-latine de l'épître aux Galates," *Revue Biblique* N.S. 7 (1910): 321–344.

89 See Anton Baumstark, "Markus Kap. 2 in der arabischen Uebersetzung des Isaak Velasquez," *OC* 9 (1934): 226–239; Franz Taeschner, "Die monarchianistischen Prologe zu den vier Evangelien in der spanisch-arabischen Bibelübersetzung des Isaak Velasquez nach der Münchener Handschrift Cod. Arab. 238," *OC* 10 (1935): 80–99; Ángel C. López y López, "La traducción de los evangelios al árabe por Isaac ben Velasco de Córdoba en el siglo X a.D.," *Boletín Millares Carlo* 13 (1994): 79–84; Philippe Roisse, "Los Evangelios traducidos del latín al árabe por Isḥāq b. Balašk al-Qurṭubī en 946 d.C.," in Concepción Castillo Castillo, Inmaculada Cortés Peña, and Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, eds., *Estudios árabes dedicados a D. Luis Seco de Lucena* (*En el XXV Aniversario de su muerte*) (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999): 147–164. On a fragment of Isaac ibn Velasquez's translation, brought from St Catherine's Monastery to Europe by von Tischendorf, see K. Vollers and E. von Dobschütz, "Ein spanisch-arabisches Evangelienfragment," *ZDMG* 56 (1902): 633–648; Siegmund Fraenkel, "Zu dem spanisch-arabischen Evangelienfragment," *ZDMG* 57 (1903): 201. On a fragment from Fez, see Eugène Tisserant, "Sur un manuscrit mozarabe de Fès," in Romualdo Díaz, ed., *Miscellanea Biblica B. Ubach* (Barcelona: Momtisserrati, 1956): 15–26.

by the Vulgate. Another translation of the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles is preserved in Madrid, BNE, MS Cod. 4971.[90]

There is no indication that Mozarabic communities produced their own version of the Pentateuch. They appear to have employed translations of foreign provenance instead. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Ar. 234, contains the Pentateuch, following text type **Arab^{Syr}2** (see Chapter 3.2 and Inventory of Manuscripts), along with Isaac ibn Velasquez's translation of the Gospels. The script is *andalusī*. There are many marginal notes in Castilian and the book titles are given in Castilian transcribed in the Arabic alphabet (*aljamiado*), e.g. جنشي ش (!) for Genesis and اشاودوش for Exodus.[91] Also Leiden, University Library, MS Or. 215 contains the very same version in an *andalusī* script. These examples suggest that the translation, though of East-Syriac origin, was used by Mozarabic communities.

Al-Ḥārith ibn Sinān ibn Sunbaṭ al-Ḥarrānī's version of the Pentateuch, too, circulated among the Mozarabs.[92] As observed by Monferrer Sala, his translation of the precious stones in the high priest's breastplate (Exodus 28:17–20) is cited in the Latin-Arabic glossary held by the Leiden University Library.[93] The foreign provenance is duly noted by the author of this glossary, who noted *min tarjamat al-Shām* "from a translation made in Syria."

90 For details, see Goussen*, Die christlich-arabische Literatur,* 10; Daniel Potthast, "Die andalusische Übersetzung des Römerbriefs," *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 8 (2011): 65–108.

91 On the manuscript, see Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "A Nestorian Arabic Pentateuch used in Western Islamic Lands," in David Thomas, ed., *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007): 351–368; Georg Graf, "Die arabische Pentateuchübersetzung in cod. Monac. ar. 234," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 15 (1919/21): 97–115, 193–212, 291–300.

92 The monastery of El Escorial has a copy of al-Ḥārith's version of the Pentateuch (**Arab^{Syr_Hex}1a** in Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts). A manuscript of an Arabic Pentateuch copied in Cordoba is now in the Sultan Mahmud II Library, Nicosia. It is mentioned in Philippe Roisse, "La circulation du savoir des Arabes chrétiens en Méditerranée médiévale: Approche des sources manuscrites," *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 1 (2004): 185–231, on 218. I have not been able to obtain a reproduction of the manuscript.

93 See Monferrer Sala, "A Nestorian Arabic Pentateuch," 353; Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library: a Contribution to the Study of Mozarabic Manuscripts and Literature* (Leiden: New Rhine, 1977): 65.

3.5 Jewish Translations

The infant stage of Judaeo-Arabic Bible translation is invisible today and largely a matter of scholarly conjecture. The intellectual environment in which it emerged is likewise unknown. In a first stage, these translations appear to have been transmitted orally and to have coalesced into diverse local traditions. Judaeo-Arabic translations of the Bible began as a way of elucidating the biblical text during the reading of the weekly portion and were never studied independently. As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, the Jewish communities of the Arabian Peninsula probably translated parts of the Bible into Arabic, replacing the older Aramaic versions. Gradually, the Arabic oral translation took over the canonical role of Targum Onkelos in the synagogue and in other contexts as well. Some of the Geonim (e.g. Natronai Gaon, fl. mid-ninth century), as well as Judah ibn Quraysh, lamented the diminishing prestige of the Targumim (see Chapter 2.5). It must be stressed, however, that most of these early sources did not refer to circulation in writing. Early Judaeo-Arabic translations appear to have been produced, recited, and transmitted orally, by teachers to pupils or by a synagogue officiant to the congregation.

We also know about early Arabic translations from Qaraite sources; excerpts from oral translation traditions are embedded in the commentaries of Daniel al-Qūmisī (second half of the ninth century).[94] His commentaries, though written mainly in Hebrew, are the first to set down Judaeo-Arabic translations in writing. His Arabic (and sometimes Persian) glosses usually consist of paraphrases and definitions and served to illuminate obscure portions of the biblical text. Al-Qirqisānī (d. 927), in a section of his *Kitāb al-anwār wa-l-marāqib* devoted to the question whether it is permitted to read non-Hebrew script on the Sabbath, furnishes clear evidence of the existence of a Judaeo-Arabic translation. In his refutation of a group of Qaraites (*baʿḍ aṣḥābinā*) who opposed the use of non-Hebrew scripts in that context, al-Qirqisānī quotes a passage from an Arabic translation and mentions that its public recitation alongside the weekly portions was customary. It emerges clearly from his discussion that the translation covered at least the entire Pentateuch and that its study had already become a fixed custom by his time.[95] The issue is repeated in his account of the natural consensus (*ijmāʿ*) among biblical translators.[96]

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94 See Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 31–36.

95 The passage is discussed by Haggai Ben-Shammai, "Hebrew in Arabic Script: Qirqisānī's View," in Sheldon R. Brunswick, ed., *Studies in Judaica, Karaitica, and Islamica* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1982): 115–126.

96 See Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 14, 69–70.

Here too, it is obvious that Arabic translations already existed. He also furnishes a list of Qaraite scholars (al-Ashkanāzī, al-Ramlī, and Ibrāhīm ibn Nūḥ) who were deemed authoritative transmitters of Judaeo-Arabic translations.[97] Al-Masʿūdī (896–956), in his historiographical work *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf* (The Book of Notification and Verification), adds other authorities, including Abū Kathīr Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyā al-Kātib, Saadiah's teacher, whose identity has yet to be conclusively pinned down, as well as the Qaraites Daniel al-Qūmisī and Ibrāhīm al-Baghdādī (the latter may be the Ibrāhīm ibn Nūḥ mentioned in al-Qirqisānī's list).[98] These sources, in contrast to those above, seem to indicate a shift to written translations. In particular the description of al-Qirqisānī, concerned with question whether one can *read* non-Hebrew script on the Sabbath, implies a written text.

All these sources show that Judaeo-Arabic Bible translations were used in liturgical and educational contexts, where they apparently replaced the earlier Aramaic translations. They suggest that, starting in the ninth century, Jewish communities in all corners of the Arabic-speaking world increasingly engaged in translations into the new vernacular. The early translations became so popular as to require intervention by the Geonim. They also constituted one cornerstone of the several branches of early medieval Judaeo-Arabic biblical scholarship, which emerged around the same time. As such, translation into Judaeo-Arabic complemented other philological disciplines, such as grammars of biblical Hebrew,[99] recitation,[100] glossaries and commentaries,[101] and even religious legislation.[102]

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97 The latter was probably related to the family of Nissi and Joseph Ibn Nūḥ (ben Noah), the Qaraite commentator, translator, grammarian and founder of the Jerusalem *dār li-l-ʿilm.* See Geoffrey Khan, *The Early Karaite Tradition of Hebrew Grammatical Thought: Including a Critical Edition, Translation and Analysis of the Diqduq of ʾAbū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ on the Hagiographa* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

98 See al-Masʿūdī: *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, 114. On the identification of Abū Kathīr Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyā al-Kātib, see Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 12 n39.

99 Geoffrey Khan, *Early Karaite Grammatical Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000); idem, *The Early Karaite Tradition*.

100 See Geoffrey Khan, *Karaite Bible Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); idem, "The Medieval Karaite Transcriptions of Hebrew into Arabic Script," *Israel Oriental Studies* 12 (1992): 157–176.

101 See Ronny Vollandt, "Glosses of Hebrew: Medieval Arabic," in Geoffrey Khan, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 2013), 2: 62–65; Sklare, "Scriptural Questions"; Joshua Blau and Simon Hopkins, "The Beginning of Judaeo-Arabic Bible Exegesis according to an Old Glossary of the Book of Psalms," ibid., 235–284 (Hebrew).

102 See Robert Brody, *The Geonim of Babylonia and the Shaping of Medieval Jewish Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998): 202–216. On corresponding Qaraite law codes,

3.5.1 *Early Non-Saadianic Translations*

Early written translations other than Saadiah's have attracted increasing scholarly attention during the last decade.[103] There is no doubt that they covered the entire Pentateuch. The translation snippets in the various Genizah collections that have been studied to date are undoubtedly only a small fraction of what existed. In any case, they complement our picture of the Jewish translation enterprise before and contemporary with Saadiah Gaon and show it to have been far more extensive than was previously believed. Their study also helps contextualize his *Tafsīr*. These early fragments are anonymous, differ in the translations contained, and stem from diverse geographical origins. Their only common denominator is that they are early and not part of the *Tafsīr*. A rudimentary stage of full translations is found in early glossaries (Arab. *tafsīr alfāẓ*).[104] The Genizah corpus includes examples of several intermediate stages progressing towards running translation—glossaries that are so dense as to translate almost every word in a verse.[105] One fragment changes deliberately from glossary to continuous translation.[106] Further, some fragments provide only selected portions: For example, Cambridge, University Library, MS T-S Ar. 1a.4 contains a translation of *Ha'azinu* (Deut 32) and the Song of the Sea (Exod 15).[107]

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see Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, "Karaite Legal Documents," in Meira Polliack, ed., *Karaite Judaism. A Guide to its History and Literary Sources* (Leiden: Brill 2003): 255–273.

103 The first fragment, Cambridge, University Library, MS T-S Ar. 53.8, was discovered by Blau, who presented an edition and discussion, cf. Chapter 3, n34. Tobi published a wide range of fragments, covering substantial portions of the Pentateuch; see Yosef Tobi, "Pre-Sa'adianic Arabic Translation of the Pentateuch," *Massorot* 7 (1993): 87–127 (Hebrew); idem, "Another Popular Judaeo-Arabic Translation of the Pentateuch", in Moshe Bar-Asher, ed., *Studies in Hebrew and Jewish Languages Presented to Shelomo Morag* (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1996): 481–450 (Hebrew); idem, "The Phonetically Written Tafsîr Alfâẕ to Exodus and other Passages of Popular Translations," *'Ben 'Ever la-'Arav 1* (1998): 53–74 (Hebrew); idem, "Translations of Personal Names in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic Bible Translations," in Aaron Demsḳy, *Studies in Jewish Onomastics. In Honor of Prof. Edwin D. Lawson on his 80th Birthday* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2003): 77–84 (Hebrew); idem, "Ancient Judaeo-Arabic Translations to the Pentateuch: New Fragments," *Haivrit Weaḥyoteha* 4–5 (2004–2005): 115–143.

104 See Vollandt, "Glosses of Hebrew: Medieval Arabic."

105 Meira Polliack and Sasson Somekh, "Two Biblical Hebrew-Arabic Glossaries from the Cairo Genizah," *Pe'amim* 83 (2001): 15–47, on 17.

106 Cambridge, University Library, MS T-S Ar. 28.170. Part of the same manuscript is MS T-S Ar. 27.60.

107 The early provenance of the fragment is also indicated by the pure EPJAS it exhibits. Saadiah and Samuel ben Ḥofni also produced separate commentaries on these pericopes. See Aaron Greenbaum, "Perush Rav Shemu'el ben Ḥofni le-farashat Ha'azinu," *Sinai*

Two prominent features support the dating of these translation to the ninth and tenth centuries. First, most of them are found only on parchment.[108] Second, they employ an orthography reminiscent of a larger group of papyrus fragments written in Early Phonetic Judaeo-Arabic Script (EPJAS). As distinct from Classic Judaeo-Arabic script (CJAS), EPJAS relies solely on Hebrew and Aramaic orthographic conventions to transcribe the phonetic realization of Judaeo-Arabic.[109]

The physical appearance of these manuscripts indicates that they were prestigious objects, copied in a calligraphic script on parchment (some of them are in a folio format and can be reconstructed to have originally contained about 300 folios).[110] Although the texts they bore faded into oblivion over the centuries until they were rediscovered by modern researchers, the communities that used them must have held them in high esteem. Saadiah's eminence obscured these other translations and cast their formerly high status to complete oblivion. Given that some of the manuscripts date from well into the twelfth century, it appears that the *Tafsīr* and the other early translations co-existed for a number of generations.[111]

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100 (1987): 273–290 (Hebrew); Haggai Ben-Shammai, "New Findings in a Forgotten Manuscript: Samuel b. Hofni's Commentary on Ha'azinu and Saadiah's commentary on the Ten Songs" *Kiryat Sefer* 61 (1986–1987): 313–332 (Hebrew).

108 And thus mainly in the folders in Cambridge, University Library, MSS T-S Ar. 1a–b and T-S Ar. 27–28.

109 See Blau and Hopkins, "Judaeo-Arabic Papyri"; idem, "On Early Judaeo-Arabic Orthography," ibid., 381–400.

110 For example, the fragments of a codex preserved in Cambridge, University Library, MSS T-S Ar. 1a.154 (Lev 19), T-S Ar. 27.24 (Exod 38:24–39:1), T-S Ar. 27.79 (Gen 32:23–33:5), T-S Ar. 28.104 (Exod 25:34–35; 38:14–16), T-S AS 72.118 (Gen 38:8–22), and T-S AS 72.128 (Gen 37:32–35); Cambridge, Westminster College, MS Arabica I.26 (Gen 44:5–19) and MS Arabica I.39 (Exod 37:26–38:13); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Heb. b. 10.73 (Exod 39:43–40:38); and Philadelphia, MS Halper 45 (Exod 38:21–24; 39:3–10). They give a good indication of the original state of the codex: 29.5 × 34 cm, ruled and pricked parchment, 29 lines, 2 columns, written in a calligraphic Oriental square script. The text is carefully executed and uses incipits to mark the beginnings of a new verse. The Oxford fragment ends with a colophon identifying the name of the work as *piṯerōn wəʾêlleh shemōt* "the interpretation of the book of Exodus" and stating the intention to continue *piṯerōn sēfer way-yiqrā* "the interpretation of the book of Leviticus." Particularly noteworthy is a small mark, in the form of the Hebrew letter *ṭet*, that indicates the start of the ninth quire. On its basis, it can be calculated that the codex must have originally have contained about 300 folios.

111 For example, the fragment Cambridge, University Library, MS T-S Ar. 28.168, published by Tobi ("Pre-Saʿadianic Arabic Translation"), is attributed by its editor to the late tenth/early eleventh century.

Another outstanding feature of these early versions is the translation technique they employed—a literalism that tries to mirror the formal structure of the Hebrew text. The literary and linguistic norms of the source are imitated on the syntactic, lexical, and even morphological levels. With regard to syntax, the Hebrew word order tends to be duplicated in disregard of the principles of Classical Arabic, producing a strict word-for-word translation. With regard to vocabulary, there is a strong reliance on cognate homophones or pseudo-cognate roots. Hebrew words are often found rendered by their Arabic etymological equivalent, such as *zarʿ* "seed" for *zeraʿ* "seed, offspring" and *bashar* "skin" for *bāśār* "skin, flesh," even when the meanings are not precisely congruent. Sometimes this tendency produced artificial Arabic words, such as *al-adama* for Hebrew *hāʾăḏāmā* "earth, ground."[112] A good example of the creativity employed in this morphological imitation is the rendering of the Hebrew temporal conjunction *ka-ʾăšer*. Because it combines the particle *ka-* and relative pronoun *ʾăšer*, it was represented by mirroring its elements as the Judaeo-Arabic *ka-alladhī*, which is not attested in Classical Arabic with this sense. Judged by the norms of Classical Arabic, the language of the translation is ungrammatical and often incomprehensible unless read against the Hebrew source. These features produced an artificial Arabic that was probably never a vernacular or employed for other genres of Judaeo-Arabic writing, but used solely as a professional translation language.[113]

Despite their literalness, however, these translations contain two sorts of limited textual expansions. We sometimes find strings of alternative renderings, with two or even three Arabic synonyms representing a single word in the Hebrew, generally with no indication of the expansion. An example of this (Cambridge, University Library, MS T-S Ar. 1a.152, fol. 2r) is the representation of Hebrew *way-yilkəḏuhā* "and they [the descendants of Machir] captured it" (Num 32:39) by *wa-ʿalaqahu wa-ẓafirahu* "they captured *and seized it*," reflecting the semantic nuances of the *Vorlage*.[114] There are also exegetical additions

112 For further examples and a more detailed discussion, see Ronny Vollandt, "Whether to Capture Form or Meaning: A Typology of Early Judaeo-Arabic Pentateuch Translations," in Nadia Vidro, Irene Zwiep, and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, eds., *A Universal Art. Hebrew Grammar across Disciplines and Faiths* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014): 58–83, idem, "Translations as Linguistic Commentaries? On the Exegetical Dimension of Early Bible Translations into Judaeo-Arabic," in Islam Dayeh, ed., *Commentary Cultures: Technologies of Medieval Reading, Philological Encounters 2* (forthcoming).

113 This is known from other Jewish translation traditions as well, such as the Judaeo-Spanish, Judaeo-Greek, and Aramaic (targumic and Neo-Aramaic).

114 On alternative renderings, see Meira Polliack, "Alternative Renderings and Additions in Yeshuʿah ben Yehudah's Arabic translation of the Pentateuch," *JQR* 8 (1993/94): 209–226.

in the form of an interpolated word, phrase, or sentence. These additions clarify the meaning. For example, Cambridge, University Library, MS T-S Ar. 28.168, fol. 1r, when translating *hū yəšūp̄əḵā rōš* “and he shall bruise you on the head” in Gen 3:15 as *huwwa yushaddikhuki ra’s* “and he will crush you the head,” adds the explanatory gloss *ayy yushiddakh minak al-ra’s* “i.e., what he will crush of you is the head.” The exegetic problem reflected here is how to reconcile the two objects, one direct and one indirect.

The contrast between the formal metaphrastic representation of the Hebrew source text and deliberate elucidative additions reflects what may be called a didactic method. The translations did not replace the Hebrew, but complemented it as a sort of running linguistic gloss. A fuller understanding of how these translations functioned requires us to consider their *Sitz im Leben*. As conjectured briefly above (Chapter 3.5), they probably served the purpose of teaching the Bible. Even though our knowledge of the medieval Judaeo-Arabic curriculum is limited, we may draw inferences from more recent contexts: basic instruction in passive Hebrew reading skills was followed by an introduction to the Bible, using Aramaic and Judaeo-Arabic translations.[115] This took place in a school (Hebr. *ḥeder*, Arab. *kuttāb*) under the direction of a professional pedagogue (Hebr. *melammed*, *ḥakham*, Arab. *muʿallim* [*mārī* in Yemen]). The prevailing didactic method was oral, through repetition. The teacher recited a verse in Hebrew, after which the pupils repeated aloud until they committed it

115 On the contribution of Genizah documents to what we know about the medieval didactic methods, see Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, “Learning to Read and Write in Medieval Egypt: Children’s Exercise Books from the Cairo Geniza,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 48 (2003): 47–69. See also Shlomo Dov Goitein, *Jewish Education in Muslim Countries: Based on Records from the Cairo Geniza* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1962): 56 (Hebrew); idem, *A Mediterranean Society*, 2: 171–211. For the educational setting of Judaeo-Arabic translations outside the Genizah, see the following: for Yemen, Shlomo Dov Goitein, “Jewish Education in Yemen as an Archetype of Traditional Education,” in Carl Frankenstein, ed., *Between Past and Future: Essays and Studies on Aspects of Immigrant Absorption in Israel* (Jerusalem: Henrietta Szold Foundation, 1953): 109–146, esp. 119 and 138; idem, *ha-Temanim* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1983): 261 (Hebrew); Yosef Qafiḥ, *Halikhot Teman: ḥaye ha-Yehudim be-Ṣanʿā u-venoteha* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2002): 79–86; Erich Brauer, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1934): 294; for North Africa, see Moshe Bar-Asher, “The Sharḥ of the Maghreb: Judaeo-Arabic Exegesis of the Bible and Other Jewish Literature: Its Nature and Formation,” in *Studies in Jewish Languages: Bible Translations and Spoken Dialects* (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim, 1988): 3–33, on 6–7 (Hebrew); and Haim Zafrani, *Littératures dialectales et populaires juives en occident musulman: L’écrit et l’oral* (Paris: Geuthner, 1980).

to memory. After this, Targum Onkelos on the verse and a Judaeo-Arabic translation were learned by rote.

The mimetic nature of the Judaeo-Arabic translation fits well into this picture. It facilitates the comprehension and memorization of the Hebrew in the schools, which as a rule was transmitted orally along with its translation. The translation's structural equivalence to the Hebrew, based on syntactic analogy and homophonic similarity, played a crucial role.[116] As Tené notes, the process constructs a certain "semantic transparency" for didactic purposes.[117] The interpretative extensions, too, may have originated in the classroom. They address issues that go beyond the literal meaning and deal with more subtle linguistic, halakhic, or midrashic dimensions of the text.

We know nothing of the scribes who produced these manuscripts. At least one fragment (London BL, MS Or. 5562.A) gives some evidence. In some of the incorporated explanatory glosses, the translation refers to *ʿulamāʾ* "scholars" and *mutarjimūn* "translators"—the specialized professionals who transmitted the *tarjama* or "translation."[118] This appellation suggests that the *mutarjimūn* perceived their occupation as a continuation of the Aramaic *meturgeman*, as also the Geonic *responsa* imply. That translation traditions

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116 As such, the early non-Saadianic translations are typologically very similar to later *shurūḥ* traditions. The *shurūḥ* emerged out of educational needs and were transmitted orally to the date of fixation through writing. On North African *shurūḥ*, see Y. Avrahami, "Ha-moqshiya: targum ha-miqra le-ʿaravit yehut shel Tunis me-ʾet R. Mordekhai Ḥay Diyyan," in Tamar Alexander, Ephraim Hazan, Galit Hasan-Rokem, and Haim Abraham, eds., *History and Creativity in Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Communities* (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim, 1994): 73–88 (in Hebrew); Moshe Bar-Asher, "The Sharḥ of the Maghreb"; David Doron, "From the Tafsir of R. Saadya Gaon to the Translation of R. Mordechai Ḥai Dayyan of Tunis" *Sefunot* NS 5 (1991): 171–180 (in Hebrew); idem, "On the Arabic Translation"; and Haim Zafrani, *Littératures dialectales et populaires juives en occident musulman: L'écrit et l'oral* (Paris: Geuthner, 1980). The only North African *sharḥ* that has been published to date is Raphael Berdugo: *Le Commentaire Biblique Leshon Limmudim de Rabbi Raphael Berdugo*, ed. Moshe Bar-Asher (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University and Mossad Bialik, 2001) (in Hebrew).

117 David Tené, "Hashwaʾat ha-leshonot be-ʾezor ha-dibbur ha-ʿaravi ba-meʾot ha-ʿaserit we-aḥat-ʿesreh la-minyan ha-mequbal," in Moshe Bar-Asher et al., eds., *Hebrew Language Studies. Presented to Professor Zeev Ben-Hayyim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1983): 237–287.

118 Partly published by Tobi ("Translations of Personal Names"). His attribution of the fragment to the traditions published by him earlier has to be doubted. The fragment belongs with Cambridge, Westminster College, MS Arabica I.120 and exhibits an independent tradition.

fulfilled comparable liturgical and didactic functions must have eased the translational transition from Aramaic to Judaeo-Arabic.

3.5.2 *The* **Tafsīr** *of Saadiah Gaon*

Saadiah Gaon (882–942) was the preeminent scholar of Judaeo-Arabic culture of his time. He made pioneering advances in fields that had received little systematic treatment before him, in *halakhah*, the liturgy, philosophy, grammar, and biblical exegesis. His Judaeo-Arabic Bible translation is one of the most influential texts in that language. The *Tafsīr* soon circulated throughout the communities of the Near East, North Africa, and Muslim Spain, acquiring an authoritative and almost canonical status in all Arabic-speaking Rabbanite communities.

Saadiah was born in Dilāẓ (in the Fayyūm district of Upper Egypt) and lived in Egypt until his late twenties. We have no indication as to when he first engaged in translation.[119] An autobiographical note in the preface to the long *Tafsīr* reveals that the idea of producing a translation of the Torah was born when he was still in his native Egypt:

> When I still lived in my country, for quite some time I entertained the desire that a translation of the Torah, accomplished by me and done correctly, be available to the people of our faith.... I hesitated to take this task upon myself [...], because I assumed there must be clear and correct translations among those living in distant countries.[120]

It is likely that Saadiah set to this task while living in Tiberias, on the shore of the Sea of Galilee. A certain Abū Kathīr Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyā al-Kātib, who is also reported to have produced translations biblical translations into Arabic, was

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119 This question has long been a matter of scholarly speculation. Malter suggests that he began his translation while still in Egypt and revised constantly (Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, 141). Polliack (*The Karaite Tradition*, 77) conjectures that started translating in Tiberias. Both Robertson and Ratzaby date the entire composition to the later Babylonian period. See E. Robertson, "The Relationship of the Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch to that of Saadya," in Erwin Isak Jakob Rosenthal, ed., *Saadya Studies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1943): 166–176, on 67; Yehudah Ratzaby, *A Dictionary of Judaeo-Arabic in R. Saadya's Tafsir* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1985): 28.

120 The Judaeo-Arabic text is found in Haggai Ben-Shammai, "'New and Old: Saʿadya's Two Introductions to his Translation of the Pentateuch," *Tarbiẓ* 69 (2000): 199–210 (Hebrew). The translation is mine.

his teacher there (see above). During the years before Saadiah was appointed Gaon of Sura (in 928), his writing focused on grammatical matters. He composed a Hebrew lexicon entitled "The Book on the Principles of Hebrew Poetics" (*Kitāb uṣūl al-shiʿr al-ʿibrānī*)—known as the *Egron*—in 913. His other grammatical treatises, such as the "The Books of Language" (*Kutub al-lugha*) and the "The Book of the Seventy *Hapax Legomena*" (*Kitāb al-sabʿīn al-lafẓa*), are also to be dated to this period. However, the final redaction of the *Tafsīr* seems to fall into his time as Gaon and is closely linked to the composition of his commentaries, of which the translations formed an intrinsic part.

He most certainly did not translate the entire Hebrew Bible into Arabic, as was long believed. He did produce translations of Isaiah, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, and the entire Pentateuch.[121] The translation is usually found attached to a commentary, which bears a programmatic title and begins with an introduction that presents the book's content and purpose and harmonizes it with Saadiah's rationalism. In the first group of books, the translation unit consists of several verses followed by a commentary of roughly equal length. In the Pentateuch, each verse is followed by a lengthy commentary (the long *Tafsīr*).[122] This layout addressed a scholarly audience and prevented the text from serving a broader public.

In the preface to the short *Tafsīr* he writes that he was asked to extract the text of the Pentateuch (*basīṭ naṣṣ al-tawrāt*) into a separate book (*fī kitāb mufrad*) without the long exegetical discussions. In response to this popular demand, then, Saadiah detached the translation itself (the short *Tafsīr*) from the commentary.[123] As is so often the case, the creation of the shorter work

121 The Arabic version of Ecclesiastes that has been transmitted in Saadiah's name among the Yemenites is in fact by Ibn Ghayāth. The attribution to Saadiah of a translation of the Song of Songs is debatable as well. It is mentioned neither in Ibn Nadīm's *Fihrist* nor in the *fihrist* by his sons; see Mann, "A Fihrist" and Poznański, "A Fihrist."

122 Large sections of the first half of Genesis were edited by Moshe Zucker, *Saadya's commentary on Genesis* (New York: Feldheim, 1984) (in Hebrew). For other sections of Saadiah's commentary on the Pentateuch, see Yehudah Ratzaby, *Perushe Rav Se'adyah Ga'on le-sefer shemot: maqor we-targum* (Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1998), for Exodus; Moshe Zucker, "Mi-perusho shel Rasa"g la-Torah," *Sura* 2 (1955–66): 313–355 and *Sura* 3 (1957–58): 151–164, for Leviticus.

123 It should nevertheless be noted that there are meaningful differences between the separate translation and the one accompanied by a commentary. Because Saadiah was very sensitive to literary and especially linguistic aspects of the Scriptures, as well as to the need for an accurate translation, he had to modify the separate translation in places where the reader could not learn the correct halakhic implications from the commentary.

almost exterminated the longer original. The commentary fell into disuse and was no longer copied. There are comparatively few fragments of it in the Genizah.

Saadiah's translation strategy is diametrically opposed to the metaphrastic imitation of the early non-Saadianic traditions and may be regarded as a direct reaction to them. It nevertheless seems obvious that he had a certain indebtedness to the existing conventions. For example, the use of homophonic Judaeo-Arabic equivalents is noticeable in his *Tafsīr*.[124] There is also some resemblance to the vocabulary of the earlier translations.[125] On the other hand, he deliberately departs from the earlier traditions. In the preface to the independent *Tafsīr*, quoted above, he writes that he deemed them inappropriate.

The short, translation-only *Tafsīr*, too, has an educational goal and is meant to satisfy the public's need for instruction in the Bible. According to the preface he composed the translation because people asked him to do so (Arab. *baʿḍ al-rāghibīn*). Even though this statement appears to be a common *topos* found in other Judaeo-Arabic works, it leads him directly into a description of his approach to translation. He continues: "I found this request to be justified, in order that an audience might understand the *meanings* of the Torah with regard to its narrative, commandments, reward and punishment."[126] His translation focuses on conveying the meaning (Arab. *maʿnā*), rather than offering a formal equivalence to the source text, as was the case in the early non-Saadianic translations. In his choice of words here, Saadiah is probably alluding to the contrast between *alfāẓ* as the linguistic expression and *maʿānī* as the underlying meaning. The term *maʿnā,* which is common in Arabic rhetoric and poetics, indicates "the intended meaning" that goes beyond the plain sense and has to be extracted from the text by interpretation. Later in the preface he characterizes his translations as *ikhrāj maʿānī naṣṣ al-tawrāt*, namely "an

The differences result from didactic, communal, and ideological considerations that could be found in the longer commentary but needed to be stated as part of the text the short *Tafsīr*. On this issue, see Haggai Ben-Shammai, "An 'East Wind' from the South: Environmental Considerations in the Translations and Commentaries of R. Sa'adia Gaon," in Yehoshuah Ben-Arieh and Elchanan Reiner, eds., *Studies in the History of Eretz Israel Presented to Yehuda ben Porat* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2003): 288–307 (Hebrew); idem, "Extra-textual Considerations in Medieval Judaeo-Arabic Bible Translations: The Case of Saadya Gaon," *Materia Giudaica* 8 (2003): 53–66.

124 See the list in Ratzaby, *A Dictionary of Judaeo-Arabic*, 146–149.

125 Blau, "On a Fragment." The similarities with Saadiah's lexicon are treated in Tobi's editions, esp. "Pre-Sa'adianic Arabic Translation," 112.

126 *Œuvres complètes de R. Saadia ben Iosef al-Fayyoûmî*, eds. Joseph Derenbourg, Hartwig Derenbourg, and Mayer Lambert (Paris: E. Leroux, 1893–1899), 1: 4.

authoritative edition [lit. extraction] of the meanings of the text of the Torah."[127] The same wording appears in the title of the preface.[128] The underlying hermeneutic premise is to harmonize Scripture with reason and the exegetical traditions that preceded him (Arab. *athār*):

> I wrote this book, a rendering of the plain text of the Torah, composed accurately by knowing reason and tradition. Whenever I may insert a word or a letter [in the translation] to reveal the meaning and intention [of the biblical text], I shall do so.[129]

This statement captures the departure from the structural imitation that marks the earlier translations. The idea is not to mirror the source text in Arabic, but to make halakhic practices and hermeneutic implications intelligible. Saadiah stresses the semantic-communicative approach in translation. This explains the freedom he allows himself in modifying the formal structure of the Hebrew, omitting repetitive elements, condensing the narrative, and providing referential links through the insertion of temporal conjunctions. For example, the paratactic enumeration of God's creation in Genesis 1, which consists of a string of coordinate clauses joined by the Hebrew conjunction *waw*, is reinterpreted as an orderly temporal succession, by the interpolation of subordinating elements, such as *fa-lammā* .... *faʿala* ... "And when [he completed a certain act in creation] ... he did. ..."[130]

It is also well-known that Saadiah's attempt to present the underlying meaning of the Torah is amply reflected in the short *Tafsīr*. A good example is Exod 23:19, which states one of the elementary precepts of the Jewish dietary laws: "You shall not seethe a kid in its mother's milk" is rendered by "and you shall not eat meat with milk," summarizing the halakhic implications of the statement.

Saadiah's approach to translation technique is suitably summarized by the self-appellation *tafsīr* (from Arab. *fassara*). The term designates an interpretation (possibly in another language) or translation according to the intended *meaning*. This is likewise the common denotation in Judaeo-Arabic exegetical

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127 *Ikhrāj* (so too *takhrīj*) means an "edition or composition involving correction, selection, and/or arrangement (*tabwīb*) of the material from the original work." See Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden: Brill, 2001): 39.

128 *Œuvres complètes*, eds. Derenbourg, Derenbourg, and Lambert, 1: 1.

129 Ibid, 4.

130 Ibid., 269–274.

terminology.[131] Saadiah appears to have chosen that designation—alongside with *ikhrāj maʿānī naṣṣ al-tawrāt*, "an edition of the meanings of the text of the Torah"—so as to dissociate it from earlier traditions and translation techniques.[132] It stands in opposition to the anonymous character of the early non-Saadianic traditions, which became literature in the strict sense only after their collective reduction to writing. Composed by one man, at a particular moment in time, it was intended from the outset for transmission in written form. Furthermore, the *Tafsīr* was edited and polished with a public readership in mind and according to stylistic requirements of the Arabic language (i.e., *faṣīḥ*, Arab. "eloquent").[133] It exhibits a deliberate decision to conform to the literary standards of the receptor culture. As a consequence, Saadiah's translation bears the intellectual imprint of his personality and conceptual framework.[134]

3.5.3 *Qaraite Translations*

The Qaraites created an independent translation tradition that has been analyzed extensively by Polliack.[135] She showed how Qaraite translators, disregarding Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, followed an approach similar to the early non-Saadianic translations and refined it to suit their needs. Before turning to the composition of continuous translations, early Qaraites concentrated on the production of glosses. Daniel al-Qūmisī (second half of the ninth century) peppered his Hebrew commentary on the Minor Prophets with Judaeo-Arabic glosses.[136] Joseph ibn Nūḥ's *Diqduq* (late tenth/early eleventh century) adopts the form of a continuous biblical glossary; though it focuses on grammatical issues, it includes occasional Judaeo-Arabic glosses.[137] Glosses in Arabic are also found

131 Saadiah's use of that term was doubtlessly influenced by its Islamic context. See Rippin, "Saʿadya Gaon and Genesis 22"; John Wansbrough, "Arabic Rhetoric and Qur'anic Exegesis," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 31 (1968): 469–485; idem, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977): 154–155; 233–235. It is of some interest for the discussion that, prior to Saadiah, the term *maʿānin* was used in titles to designate a commentary; e.g. the *Maʿānī al-qurʾān* by al-Farrāʾ (d. 822).

132 The title *ikhrāj maʿānī* is also found in his translation and commentary of Lamentations; see Cambridge, University Library, MS T-S 10C1.

133 *Œuvres complètes*, eds. Derenbourg, Derenbourg, and Lambert, 1: 3.

134 On monographic writing in Judaeo-Arabic, see Rina Drory, *Models and Contacts: Arabic Literature and its Impact on Medieval Jewish Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

135 Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*.

136 Ibid., 31–36.

137 See Khan, *The Early Karaite Tradition*.

in Abū al-Faraj Hārūn's epitome (*talkhīs*) of Ibn Nūḥ's commentary on the Torah.[138] He is also known to have produced a running Judaeo-Arabic glossary, known in Arabic as *Tafsīr al-alfāẓ al-ṣaʿba fī al-Miqra*, "an explanation of difficult words in the Bible."[139]

The first running translations were produced by Salmon ben Yerūḥīm, a contemporary of Saadiah's. His compositions are usually regarded as the watershed in the use of Arabic by Qaraite exegetes, superseding Aramaic and Hebrew.[140] In Salmon's commentaries, we also encounter for the first time the tripartite structure that juxtaposes the Hebrew text with a running Judaeo-Arabic translation and a lengthy commentary, similar to Saadiah's long *Tafsīr*.[141] Qaraite exegesis reached its zenith with Yefet ben ʿElī, who produced a monumental translation and commentary on the entire Bible.[142] One of the most prolific Qaraite scholars of the tenth century, he was active in Jerusalem and associated with Ibn Nūḥ's *dār li-l-ʿilm*.

The two commentators' translational approach is akin to that of the early non-Saadianic traditions. This can be seen in many features, such as the strong literalism that tries to mirror the formal structure of the Hebrew text by means of syntactic, lexical, and morphological imitation. There are also many alternative renderings. In the introduction to his commentary on Genesis, Yefet write: "Our intention has been [to provide] a translation (*tarjama*) of the words (*alfāẓ*) of this Book [i.e., Genesis] and an explanation (*takhlīṣ*) of his meanings (*maʿānīhi*) according to what the words require."[143] That is, a translation should capture the formal level (Arab. *lafẓ*) of the biblical source text and

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138 Miriam Goldstein, *Karaite Exegesis in Medieval Jerusalem: The Judaeo-Arabic Pentateuch Commentary of Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ and Abū al-Faraj Hārūn* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

139 Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, "The 'Explanation of Difficult Words' by Abu al-Faraj Harun ibn al-Faraj," in Geoffrey Khan, ed., *Exegesis and Grammar in Medieval Karaite Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press on behalf of the University of Manchester, 2001): 179–194.

140 Drory, *Models and Contacts*, 164–165.

141 A partial edition of his commentary on the Psalms was furnished by Lawrence Marwick, *The Arabic Commentary of Salmon ben Yeruham on the Book of Psalms, Chapters 42–72* (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1956); of the commentary on Eccesiastes, by Georges Vajda, *Deux commentaires karaïtes sur l'Ecclésiaste* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); and on Lamentations, by Salomon Feuerstein, *Der Commentar des Karäers Salmon ben Yerucham zu den Klageliedern* (Krakow: Verlag des Verfassers, 1898).

142 On Yefet, see Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 37–45. See also the extensive bibliography in Marzena Zawanowska, *The Arabic Translation and Commentary of Yefet ben Eli the Karaite on the Abraham Narratives (Genesis 11:10–25:18): Edition and Introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

143 Ibid., 41.

is consequently called *tarjama* in Arabic, recalling the *mutarjimūn* of earlier translations.

Other prominent Qaraite scholars who produced continuous Judaeo-Arabic translations and biblical commentaries included David ben Boaz (late tenth century), Yeshuʿah ben Judah (middle of the eleventh century) and ʿAlī ben Sulaymān (Egypt, second half of the eleventh century). Their translations are strikingly similar and often identical. Yeshuʿah was the most prolific of them.[144] The leader of the community in Jerusalem, he composed a commentary on the Pentateuch in which his major concern was *halakhah*. This long work, known as *al-tafsīr al-mustawfā* or *al-mabsūṭ*, did not initially include a translation. But at the behest of the Egyptian Qaraite notable Abū Ḥasan Dāʾūd ibn ʿImrān ben Levi, who commissioned a copy of the commentary for the education of his son, Yeshuʿah abridged it and added a running translation.[145]

Yeshuʿah's statements in the introduction to the commentary illustrate his departure from the earlier Qaraite approach to translation:

> Know that whoever translates (*yunqilu*) from one language into another and does not use in some places additions (*al-ziyāda*) or omissions (*al-nuqṣān*), or changes (the gender) from masculine into feminine and feminine into masculine and the plural into the singular and vice versa and so on, which, as you will observe, is the prevailing practice of the translations (*al-tarjamāt*) in his commentary (*al-tafsīr*), runs the risk of making its meaning (*maʿnāhu*) obscure and its wording (*lafẓahu*) incomprehensible in the language to which they have been translated [...].[146]

He proclaims his abandonment of a slavish formal equivalence between the source text and the translation, which had been the "prevailing practice" before him. It is not the morphology, such as gender and number, that has to be conveyed, but the meaning of the biblical text, i.e., *maʿnāhu*. Similar to Saadiah, he edited and polished his translation with readers in mind (Arab. *ḥasab mā istaqarra maʿ al-ṭālib*, "as required by the patron and stylistic requirements).

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144 Ibid., 46–54; Haggai Ben-Shammai, "Yeshuah ben Yehudah: Characterization of a Karaite Scholar of Jerusalem in the Eleventh Century" *Peʿamim* 32 (1987): 3–20 (Hebrew).

145 Geoffrey Khan, "On the Question of Script in Medieval Karaite Manuscripts: New Evidence from the Genizah," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester 75* (1993): 133–141.

146 The translation is by Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 49.

3.6 Samaritan Translations

The beginnings of the Samaritan traditions of Arabic Pentateuch translation are obscure.[147] As noted above, it is difficult to know exactly when Samaritan Aramaic gave way to Arabic as a vernacular. Although information that would provide an approximate indication of the date of emergence of an Arabic version is scant, it is usually agreed that the shift took place during the eleventh century, following a period of bilingualism.[148] The creation of an Arabic version must have followed soon after that linguistic shift, but documentary evidence is lacking. Many of the earliest treatises in Arabic deal with grammar, such as Ṭabiah Ghazāl ibn Dartha's *Qānūn ibn Darthā fī tartīb al-miqra* ("Ibn Darthā's canon of reciting the Torah")[149] and *Qānūn ibn Darthā fī miqra* ("Ibn Darthā's canon of the Torah").[150] The Arabic column of the anonymous *ham-Melīṣ*, a trilingual biblical lexicon (Samaritan Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic), also dates to that time.[151] It is reasonable to assume that the Pentateuch was translated around this period.

Earlier research, especially by Kahle and his school, regarded the Samaritan translations into Arabic as dependent on a Saadianic *Vorlage*.[152] But as Shehadeh demonstrated, the Samaritan translations survive in several distinct manuscript groups, among which genuine Saadianic adaptations are marginal. The first group consists of trilingual or bilingual codices in Samaritan script, made before the second half of the thirteenth century. The version in them, virtually unknown to earlier scholars, predated the revised text of Abū Saʿīd.

147 See Hasib Shehadeh, *The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1989–2002); idem, "The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch." See also Simon Hopkins' review of the former, "Mahadurah shelemah shel ha-targum ha-ʿaravi la-Torah nusaḥ Shomron," *Cathedra* 115 (2005): 217–221.

148 The question has been addressed by Shehadeh, "The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch;" idem, "The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch," in Crown, ed., *The Samaritans*; and most explicitly, in idem, "When did Arabic."

149 Paul Kahle, "Die Lesezeichen bei den Samaritanern."

150 Ed. Ben-Hayyim, *ʿIvrit va-Aramit*, 2: 308–315.

151 Ibid., 2: 440–616.

152 See Kahle, *Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen*, x–xi; idem, *The Cairo Genizah* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959): 54–55; Max Katten, *Untersuchungen zu Saadja's arabischer Pentateuchübersetzung* (Giessen: s.n., 1924); Algermissen, *Die Pentateuchzitate*. See also: Abraham S. Halkin, "The Relation of the Samaritans to Saadia Gaon," in Boaz Cohen, ed., *Saadia Anniversary Volume* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1943): 271–325; Robertson, "The Relationship of the Arabic Translation."

Although Shehadeh initially attributed this early version to Isḥāq ibn Faraj ibn Mārūth al-Ṣūrī—known as Abū al-Ḥasan (Aram. Ab-Ḥisdā) and active in the late eleventh century—his attribution has not won general acceptance.[153] Its provenance remains unknown. The translation technique is similar to that of early non-Saadianic translations; for example, the syntax usually follows the Hebrew in disregard of the rules of Classical Arabic.[154] This similarity implies that the older Arabic version of the Samaritan Pentateuch may have come into being in a comparable didactic context. Saadiah's *Tafsīr* seems to have influenced this earlier Samaritan tradition significantly, given that in long passages the vocabulary and phrasing are identical. Be this as it may, there are extensive variations among the manuscripts, which indicates that no *textus receptus* ever emerged.[155]

The second group represents the version of Abū Saʿīd, active in thirteenth-century Egypt. He did not produce a new translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch into Arabic, but revised the earlier version identified in the first group of manuscripts and added various scholia to his text.

As Shehadeh has shown, only the third group of manuscripts may properly be termed Saadianic adaptations. It consists of a single manuscript, London, BL, MS Or. 7562, written in Samaritan script, and possibly a number of additional fragments.[156] At Kahle's request, the Arabic column of the codex was

153 His son, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Faraj ibn Mārūth, was Saladin's physician in Damascus in the twelfth century. Accordingly, Abū al-Ḥasan must have lived in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, probably in Damascus. See Rudolf Macuch, "On the Problems of the Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch," in Abraham Tal and Moshe Florentin, eds., *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Société d'Etudes Samaritaines* (Tel Aviv: Chaim Rosenberg School for Jewish Studies, Tel-Aviv University, 1991): 147–173. He conjectures that the translation was attributed to him because of his reputation among the scholars of his generation. There is no concrete evidence of his authorship, however.

154 See Shehadeh, "The Arabic Translation," 510–511, idem, "The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch," 184.

155 The manuscripts attest to a rather fluid transmission, which led to a concurrency of distinct traditions in this group. For example, MS ה in Shehadeh's edition is closer to the *Tafsīr* than other manuscripts. MS א consistently uses *al-qadīm* to designate God, a feature not paralleled in other textual testimonies.

156 See Albert Harkavy, *Catalog der hebräischen und Samaritanischen Handschriften der Kaiserlichen-öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg* (St. Petersburg: C. Ricker, 1875): 242–246; Haroutun S. Jamgotchian, "Fragments inconnus de la traduction Arabe du Pentateuque par Saʿadya al Fayyoumi dans une adaptation samaritaine," in Abraham Tal and Moshe Florentin, eds., *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Société*

transcribed into Arabic script by Kohen Salāma ibn ʿImrān in 1908 and subsequently became Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Or. Quart. 1082. Although Kahle considered MS London to be representative of the Samaritan tradition, and it is certainly an interesting document, it is now thought to be of marginal significance in comparison to the large number of genuine Samaritan translations.[157] It dates to the fourteenth century, by which time the Samaritans already had a thriving translation tradition of their own.

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d'Etudes Samaritaines (Tel Aviv: Chaim Rosenberg School for Jewish Studies, Tel-Aviv University, 1991): 225–243. See also Tamar Zewi, *The Samaritan Version of Saadya Gaon's Translation of the Pentateuch*, forthcoming in the Biblia Arabic Series.

157 Kahle, *The Cairo Genizah*, 54.

CHAPTER 4

Muslims and Their Use of the Arabic Pentateuch

The early Muslim attitude to the Torah (*tawrāt*, or *tawriya* in Qurʾānic orthography) was ambivalent.[1] As is frequently stressed in the Qurʾān, the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as the New Testament, were considered to be earlier divine revelations. On the other hand, Jews were accused of having hidden and distorted the content in the course of transmission, a concept known as *tabdīl* or *taḥrīf*. The Qurʾān had to be revealed as the ultimate, concluding link in the progressive sequence of previous revelations. For that reason, early Muslims regarded the Torah as a defective testimony to the original revelation (*umm al-kitāb*). Consulting the Torah was met with disapproval, especially after the worsening of the relations between Muḥammad and the Jews, who had rejected his prophetic status.

The transmission of biblical material, in its islamicized form, was permitted, however, and entrusted to scholars who specialized in the field that came to be known as *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* and *Isrāʾīliyāt*. These scholars had no direct access to written Arabic translations of the Bible, although they were well acquainted with its contents. As with the Qurʾān and Ḥadīth, exact quotations of the Pentateuch and other biblical books are not found in this genre. As we have seen above, Muslim recollections of the Late Antique scriptural heritage were the result of an oral transmission process. This particular form of the reception is not the topic of this chapter.

A firsthand acquaintance with the Pentateuch, in the form of direct and explicit quotations from written Arabic translations, is found only from the second half of the ninth century onwards. In the first Islamic centuries, *al-Sīra al-nabawiya* (Biography of the Prophet) by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq (ca. 704–768), in the recension of Ibn Hishām (d. 834), contains an islamicized quotation from the Gospel of John (15:23–16:1).[2] Other Muslim scholars, including Mālik ibn Dīnār (eighth century) and Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869), also claimed to have seen translations of the Bible into Arabic

1 For detailed studies on this subject, see William Montgomery Watt, "The Early Development of the Muslim Attitude to the Bible," *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society* 16 (1955–1956): 50–62; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*; and Adang, *Muslim Writers*.

2 See Baumstark, "Eine altarabische Evangelienuebersetzung"; Guillaume, "The Version of the Gospels"; Joseph Schacht, "Une citation de l'Evangile de St Jean dans la Sīra d'Ibn Isḥaq" *al-Andalus* 15 (1950): 489–490, and Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic," II: 137–143.

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(see Chapter 3). The discussion here, however, will to be limited to quotations by Muslim scholars that demonstrate access to written copies or a clear acquaintance with the translation traditions dealt with in this work. In addition to their importance for the study of Muslim reception of the Bible, some of our sources provide significant evidence about the emergence of Arabic translations of the Pentateuch, and especially their dates.

4.1 ʿAlī ibn Rabban

ʿAlī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, an East-Syriac convert to Islam, played an essential role in the transmission of biblical material within Muslim literature.[3] He was born at the beginning of the ninth century (ca. 810). The family originated from Merv in the province of Khurāsān, but relocated to Ṭabaristān in his childhood. Sahl, his father, acquired the honorary appellation *rabban* (Syr. "our master") and was active as a physician. Similarly, ʿAlī ibn Rabban was educated in this profession and entered the service of the local governor. After a period of political turmoil, he eventually settled in Sāmarrā' and devoted himself to the composition of medical writings. His first work, *Firdaws al-ḥikma* (The orchard of wisdom), is dated 235 AH (850).[4] It was translated into Syriac by its author soon thereafter.

His conversion is not precisely datable, but appears to have taken place after the completion of *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, which is free of Islamic formulae. The composition is dedicated to the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847–861). His other two tracts, *al-Radd ʿalā al-naṣārā* (Refutation of the Christians) and *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla* (Book of Religion and Empire), are essentially apologetic in character.[5] They date to the later period of the caliph's reign

3 For a full bibliography, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 23–30.

4 ʿAli ibn Rabban-al-Ṭabarī: *Firdausu'l-Ḥikmat or Paradise of Wisdom*, ed. Muḥammad Zubair Siddiqi (Berlin: Buch- u. Kunstdruckerei Sonne, 1928).

5 The "Refutation of the Christians" was edited by I. A. Khalifé and W. Kutsch, "ar-Radd ʿalā-n-Naṣārā de ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭabarī," *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université St. Joseph de Beyrouth* 36 (1959): 113–148, and translated by Jean-Marie Gaudeul, *Riposte aux chretiens par ʿAlî al-Ṭabari* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Studi Arabi e d'Islamistica, 1995). The "Book of Religion and Empire" was first published in English translation by Alphonse Mingana, *The Book of Religion and Empire by ʿAlī Ṭabarī; translated with a critical apparatus from an apparently unique ms. in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester: Longmans, Green, 1922). The Arabic edition ensued a year later: idem, *The Book of Religion and Empire: Written by order at the Court and with the Assistance of the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847–861) by Ali Tabari. Arabic text edited from an apparently unique MS in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester: Longmans, Green,

and clearly indicate that ʿAlī ibn Rabban had converted at some prior date (i.e., 850–861). Al-Mutawakkil encouraged—possibly even patronized—his adoption of Islam. The caliph bestowed on him the honorary titles Abū al-Ḥasan and *mawla amīr al-muʾminīn*, "client of the Commander of the Faithful," and appointed him as one of his table-companions. According to Mingana, ʿAlī ibn Rabban died around 865.

Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla aims to respond to the doubts of Jews and Christians (but also Zoroastrians, Manicheans, and Buddhists) about the validity of the divine message of Prophet Muḥammad and the status of his religion. Above all, ʿAlī ibn Rabban confirms these based on predictions from the books of the Old and New Testament. The book may thus be considered a representative of the *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* genre, which flourished from the ninth century on. Given the Qurʾānic view that Muḥammad's advent was foretold in the Bible, many passages are quoted that attest to his prophetic status. The proof-texts include verses from the Pentateuch, Psalms, Isaiah, and the Minor Prophets.[6] In several instances, ʿAlī ibn Rabban refers to a certain Marqūs al-Tarjumān ("the dragoman"), whose translation he says he employed.[7] This statement is somewhat ambiguous, however. It is not clear whether he is referring to the Syriac version, from which he himself translated into Arabic, as argued by some scholars, or to an existing Arabic translation done by Marqūs al-Tarjumān, as argued by others.[8] A good example of this dilemma is his quotation of Gen 17:20, found in Mingana (67):

1923). David Thomas and Rifaat Ebied have announced the discovery of a new manuscript and are currently preparing a new edition. For the now-dated debate as to its authenticity, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 27–28.

6 A list of verses cited is found in Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 264–266; idem, "A Rare Case of Biblical 'Testimonies' to the Prophet Muḥammad in Muʿtalizī Literature: Quotations from Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla* in Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ghurar al-adilla*, as preserved in a work by al-Ḥimmaṣī al- Rāzī," in Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke, and David Sklare, eds., *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2007): 297–330, and Franz Taeschner, "Die alttestamentlichen Bibelzitate, vor allem aus dem Pentateuch in at-Tabari's *Kitāb ad-dīn wa-daula* und ihre Bedeutung für die Frage nach der Echtheit dieser Schrift," *OC 3*, Series 9 (1934): 23–39.

7 See Mingana, *The Book of Religion and Empire, Arabic Text*, 67, 81–84.

8 Theodor Nöldeke believed that Marqūs translated the text into Arabic; see "Ali Tabari, The Book of Religion and Empire," *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 45 (1924): 22–28, esp. 23. By contrast, David Samuel Margoliouth ("On 'The Book of Religion and Empire' by ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Tabari," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 14 [1930]: 165–182, esp. 174) and Georg Graf (*GCAL* 1: 44–45) conjectured that ʿAlī ibn Rabban translated himself from the Syriac into Arabic.

> "And as for Ismail, I have heard your prayer; I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve great ones shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation." And thus it is found in the translation (*tarjama*) of Marqūs al-Tarjumān.

Marqūs's function, one may conjecture, could have been passing on the authoritative translation to the congregation in liturgical or educational settings. This is plausible, because professional interpreters of the biblical text are attested in comparable contexts, including for the Targumim and for the Palestinian Aramaic Christian version (see Chapter 3). Among the Jews, at least, we are well informed about the existence of an Arabic *meturgeman.* The epithet al-Tarjumān, "the dragoman," could indicate that Marqūs was a trained transmitter of an Arabic translation. Thus ʿAlī ibn Rabban, educated as a Christian, would have studied the Bible through the intermediation of a professional interpreter, whose expertise in the field and whose name he recalls in his later writings as a Muslim.

Given ʿAlī ibn Rabban's East-Syriac origin, it is not surprising that his Pentateuch quotations exhibit conspicuous affinities with **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$2**, which is of the same provenance (see Chapters 3.2 and Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts). The chapter divisions employed by him, such as *al-faṣl al-tāsiʿ* "the ninth chapter" (Gen 16:8–12), *al-faṣl al-ʿāshir* "the tenth chapter" (Gen 17:20), and *al-faṣl al-thālith ʿashr* "the thirteenth chapter" (Gen 21:13), correspond exclusively to this translation tradition.[9] Further, entire verses are identical to **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$2,** with occasional variants, as the specimens of Gen 16:8–12 illustrate:

Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$2	ed. Mingana, 67
	بمثل هذه النبوة في السفر الاول
	والفصل التاسع وقال انه لما
	هربت هاجر من سارة ترآءى لها
(8) فقال لها يا هاجر امة سرا من اين اقبلت	(8) وقال يا هاجر امة سارة من أين أقبلت
واين تريدين فقالت له مجيبة انا هاربة	وأين تريدين قالت هاجر مجيبة له اهرب
من سري سيدتي (9) فقال لها ملاك	من سيدتي سارة (9) قال لها ملك

9 These chapter divisions are discussed in Appendices, Text Divisions.

الرب ارجعي الى سيدتك وتعبدي لها
(10) قال لها ملاك الرب عن قول الرب انا
اكثر زرعك ومنميه حتى لا يحصون كثرتهم
(11) ثم قال لها ملاك الرب انك حبلى وتلدين
ابنا وتدعي اسمه اسماعيل ان الرب
قد عرف ذلك وخضوعك (12) ويكون
ابنك هذا اوحش الناس ويده على الكل
ويد كل به وسيحل على حدود جميع اخوته

الرب ارجعي الى سيدتك واخضعي لها
(10) فإني سأكثر ذريتك وزرعك حتى لا
يحصون كثرة (11) وها أنت تحبلين وتلدين ابنا
وتسميه اسمعيل لان الله قد سمع تبتلك
وخشوعك (12) وهو يكون عير الناس
وتكونون يده فوق الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطة
اليه ويكون مسكنه على تخوم جميع اخوته

The similarity catches the eye immediately, particularly if we consider the translation technique that is unique to **Arab$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$2**. The textual extension *mujība* "in answering" (v. 8) appears in both texts. In v. 11, both texts render Syriac *shūʿb̲ād̲ek̲* "your submission" by alternative translations (Mingana: *tabattulaki wa-khushūʿaki* "your devotion and your affliction"; **Arab$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$2**: *dhullaki wa-khuḍūʿaki* "your submissiveness and your submission"). On the other hand, the two text types diverge in important details. ʿAlī ibn Rabban, for example, is anxious to avoid duplications. In Gen 16:10–11, the repetitive opening words of the verses that introduce the messenger's speech are left out. His quotation of Gen 16:7 seems to be only a paraphrase of the biblical verse. These changes probably reflect ʿAlī ibn Rabban's own editorial involvement when he incorporated the citations into his composition, modifying the original structure of the biblical narrative and condensing it where he deemed necessary.

But even taking ʿAlī ibn Rabban's interference with the quotations into account, a number of variants remain. They encompass the lexical choice of translation equivalents, in which the text type of ʿAlī ibn Rabban is usually closer to the Syriac: in Gen 16:11 he has *Allāh qad samiʿa* "God has heard" (**Arab$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$2** *al-rabb qad ʿarafa* "God has recognized"), in imitation of the word *shemaʿ* in the source text and thus retaining the pun on the proper name Ishmael. In v. 12, Ishmael is described as *ʿayr al-nās* "a wild ass of a man" (**Arab$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$2** *awḥash al-nās* "a most wild man") to maintain a homophonic transparency to *ʿerdā da-b̲naynāshe* "a wild ass of a man." Out of similar considerations, *tukhūm* "boundaries" (**Arab$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$2** *ḥudūd* "borders") is used for *teḥūmā* "boundaries" in the same verse. In the aforementioned alternative rendering of Syriac *shūʿb̲ād̲ek̲* "your submission" in v. 1, *khushūʿaki* "your affliction" constitutes an attempt to mirror the source text through a homophonic equivalent.

In contrast to **Arab**^{Syr}**2**, which has *khuḍūʿaki* "your submission," the variant exhibited in ʿAlī ibn Rabban puns on the similarity of sound in source text and translation.

ʿAlī ibn Rabban's quotations and **Arab**^{Syr}**2** are far from identical. The partial similarity of the translations, however, as well as their shared translation technique, points towards a common East-Syriac origin. Also the fact that ʿAlī ibn Rabban belonged to that Church prior to his conversion implies that he was acquainted with traditions of East-Syriac translation into Arabic. What we encounter in his quotations is likely to represent a stage of **Arab**^{Syr}**2** prior to its commission to writing, when it was still somewhat fluid. The earliest copy of **Arab**^{Syr}**2** is dated 960, about a century after *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla*.

Be this as it may, ʿAlī ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla* constituted an important source of biblical proof-texts for subsequent compositions in the *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* genre. It strongly influenced Ibn Qutayba's *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, which was lost in the original and survived only in citations, such as in Ibn Jawzī's *Kitāb al-wafā fī faḍāʾil al-muṣṭafā* and Ibn Ḥazm's *Kitāb al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*.[10] Not only is this treatise largely dependent on *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla* in its structure and argument for the veracity of Muḥammad's prophethood, it also repeats ʿAlī ibn Rabban's Pentateuch citations.[11] For example, Gen 16:11 is cited in *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* as *wa-hā anti taḥbalīn wa-taldīn ibnan wa tusammīhi Ismāʿīl li-anna Allāh taʿālā qad samiʿa khushūʿaki* "behold! you are with child, and shall bear a son; and you shall call him Ishmael, because God, exalted be he, has heard your affliction." The minor difference from ʿAlī

10 For details, see Carl Brockelmann, "Ibn Ǧauzi's Kitāb al-Wafā fī faḍāʾil al-Muṣṭafā nach der Leidener Handschrift untersucht," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 3 (1898): 2–59; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 35–36; A new manuscript of the text, albeit incomplete, was recently discovered by Schmidtke; see "The Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials: Ibn Qutayba and his *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 22 (2011): 249–274.

11 The similarity is noted by Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 36; and by Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 89. Compare the comment following Deut 33:2: ʿAlī ibn Rabban (in Mingana, *The Book of Religion and Empire, Arabic Text*, 74–75), writes *fa-hādha fī kutub al-suryāniya allatī fassaraha Marqūs fa-amā fī alʿibrāniya fa-innahu yaqūl inna fī katifihi ʿalāmat al-nubuwwa* "and that is what is found in the Syriac Scriptures that were translated by Marqūs al-Tarjumān, while in the Hebrew it says *on his shoulders is the sign of prophethood*." This is recapitulated by Ibn Qutayba (see Brockelmann, "Ibn Ǧauzi's Kitāb al-Wafā," 47) as *hādhā fī al-tafsīr al-suryānī wa-amā fī al-ʿibrāniya fa-innahu yaqūl inna fī katifihi ʿalāmat al-nubuwwa* "that is in the Syriac translation, while in the Hebrew it says *on his shoulders is the sign of prophethood*."

ibn Rabban consists in the addition of the exaltation *taʿālā* and the omission of the alternative rendering.[12] In contrast, Ibn Qutayba must have had an additional source for Deut 33:2. ʿAlī ibn Rabban's translations reads *al-rabb jāʾ min ṭūr Sinīn wa-ṭalaʿ lanā min Sāʿīr wa-ẓahar min jabal Fārān* "the Lord came from *Mount* Sinai, and *rose* from Seir *for us*; he appeared from Mount Paran." Ibn Qutayba's version has *jāʾ min Sīnā wa-ashraqa min Sāʿīr wa-istaʿlana min jabal Fārān* "he came from Sinai, and shone forth from Seir; he appeared from Mount Paran."[13] It is, however, verbatim identical to the quotation of the verse in the epistle from Ibn al-Layth (d. 796) to Constantine VI, written at the behest of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, calling on the emperor to convert to Islam.[14] Thus it seems that Ibn Qutayba had no firsthand acquaintance with Arabic translations of the Pentateuch for his *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, but relied on existing Muslim collections of biblical proof-texts that he found in ʿAlī ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla* and in Ibn al-Layth's epistle.

We can offer further examples of how biblical quotations were handed down among Muslim scholars. Abū Naṣr Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī included a number of verses in his *Kitāb al-badʾ wa-l-taʾrīkh* (Book of Creation and History), dated around 966. He provides two different sets of translations for Gen 17:30 and Deut 33:2, preceded by the original Hebrew, an Arabic transcription, and instructions on the correct pronunciation.[15] The first set of translations diverges from the second and may have originated with a Jewish informant. The second set is compared to the first and introduced as *fī takhrījāt ahl al-islām*, "found in the excerpts of the people of Islam." Again, whereas Gen 17:30 agrees with the citation in *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla*, Deut 33:2 is identical to Ibn al-Layth's epistle, which makes it possible that al-Maqdisī used Ibn Qutayba's *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*.[16]

The same set of quotations was reused in *Ithbāt nubuwwat al-nabī* by al-Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh (d. 1020) and in *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* by Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Māwardī (d. 1085). Because both

12 ʿAlī ibn Rabban's version of Gen 16:11 is found in Mingana, *The Book of Religion and Empire, Arabic Text*, 67; Ibn Qutayba's, in Brockelmann, "Ibn Ǧauzi's Kitāb al-Wafā," 46.

13 Mingana, *The Book of Religion and Empire, Arabic Text*, 74; Brockelmann, "Ibn Ǧauzi's Kitāb al-Wafā," 47.

14 Abū Rabīʿ Muḥammad ibn al-Layth: "Risālat Abī Rabīʿ Muḥammad b. al-Layth allati katabahā li-l-Rashīd ilā Qusṭantīn malik al-Rum," in Ahmad Zakī Ṣafwat, ed., *Jamharat khuṭab al-ʿArab fī ʿuṣūr al-ʿArabīya al-zāhira*, 4 vols. (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1937), 3: 252–324, on 312: *jāʾ Allāh tabāraka wa-taʿālā min Sīnā wa-ashraqa min Sāʿīr wa-istaʿlana min jibāl Fārān*. On the epistle, see Barbara Roggema, "Ibn al-Layth," CMR 1: 347–353.

15 The quotation is in Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, *Le livre de la création*, 5: 30–33.

16 As already conjectured on different grounds by Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 156.

works employ Ibn Qutayba's wording of Gen 16:17 and Ibn al-Layth's citation of Deut 33:2, it again appears that their authors must have gleaned the citations from *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*.[17] The citations in the *Kitāb ghurar al-adilla* by Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 1045) seem to be directly dependent on Alī ibn Rabban. It also served as the intermediary for their transmission to the Kalām *summa* of the Twelver Shīʿī Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥimmaṣī al- Rāzī (d. ca. 1205), *Kitāb al-munqidh min al-taqlīd*, and *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, the commentary on the Qurʾān by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210).[18]

4.2 Ibn Qutayba

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutayba, known by his *kunya* Abū Muḥammad, was active in the fields of philology and *adab*.[19] Although he is counted among the most prolific Arab polymaths of the ninth century, little is known about his education and early career. Born 214 AH/828 CE, the place of his birth—most probably Kūfa—is still debated. He appears to have descended from an arabicized family of Persian origin from Khurasān, as indicated by his father's *nisba* al-Marwazī. From his occasional mention of his teachers, it emerges that he affiliated himself with the post-*miḥna* philological and traditionist movement closely related to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.[20] He found his patron in one of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil's viziers, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān, who is known to have fostered this movement. Under his patronage, Ibn Qutayba was given the post of a *qāḍī* in Dīnawar in 851, which he held until he moved to Baghdad twenty years later. There he dedicated himself to the compilation of his works and teaching until his death in 889.

17 Mu'ayyad billāh Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn: *Ithbāt nubuwwat al-nabī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Aḥmad Jadabān (Ṣaʿdah: Maktabat al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2003). The passages quoted are on 286 and 287–292. I am indebted to Gregor Schwarb for bringing this publication to my attention. Al-Māwardī's quotations were published by Taeschner, "Die alttestamentlichen Bibelzitate."

18 The transmission from Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī to al-Ḥimmaṣī al- Rāzī was studied by Adang, "A Rare Case"; that to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī by Sabine Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his Transmission of Biblical Materials from *Kitāb al-dīn wa-al-dawla* by Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī: The Evidence from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 20 (2009): 105–118 (with a full bibliography).

19 The best introductions to his works are Isḥāq Mūsā Ḥuseini, *The Life and Works of Ibn Qutayba* (Beirut: American Press, 1950), and Gérard Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba* (*mort en 276/889*)*: l'homme, son œuvre, ses idées* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1965).

20 For details, see Ḥuseini, *Life and Works*, 11–39; Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 64.

Ibn Qutayba's works encompass many disciplines: he was a *muḥaddith* and *mufassir*, composed anthologies of *adab*, secretarial handbooks, and historical reports. A great many of his works, including *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (The Proofs of Prophethood), *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* (Elucidation of Disputed Ḥadīth), *Taʾwīl mushkil al-qurʾān* (Elucidation of Difficult Passages in the Qurʾān), *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* (Choice Narratives), and *Kitāb al-maʿārif* (Book of Noteworthy Information), contain extensive quotations from both the Old and New Testaments. They are brought as proof-texts for passages in the Qurʾān and Ḥadīth or to supplement reports on biblical figures transmitted in islamicized form, for example by Wahb ibn Munabbih. The arrangement of the first part of the *Kitāb al-maʿārif*, dealing with biblical history, may essentially be described as a juxtaposition of reports by Wahb ibn Munabbih with the corresponding biblical quotations, following the pattern *wa-qāla Wahb ibn Munabbih … wa-qaraʾtu/wajadtu fī al-tawrāt* "Wahb ibn Munabbih reported … and I read/found in the Torah." A detailed *isnād* is not given.

Whereas the Pentateuch citations in his *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* seem to be dependent on ʿAlī ibn Rabban (see above), those in *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, *Taʾwīl mushkil al-qurʾān*, and *Kitāb al-maʿārif* belong to another translation type.[21] The last of these, in particular, has many quotations from the Pentateuch, sometimes running to entire chapters. They are usually introduced by *qaraʾtu* "I read" or *wajadtu fī al-tawrāt* "I found in the Torah." Scholars have studied them in depth.[22] There is no consensus as to their nature: Lazarus-Yafeh and Vajda considered phrases like "I found in the Torah" to be a literary *topos* and denied that a written Arabic translation could have served Ibn Qutayba as a *Vorlage*.[23] Graf believes that they are a mere *freie Nacherzählung* ("summarizing paraphrase").[24] Others, such as Goldziher, Lecomte, Altheim, and Isteero, conjectured that Ibn Qutayba should be regarded as the first Muslim author who actually had access to a written Arabic translation of the Pentateuch, from which he quotes accurately. Although it was clear to these scholars that

21 His *ʿUyūn al-akhbār* contains quotations from the New Testament only and has therefore been excluded from the discussion.

22 Ignaz Goldziher, "Ueber Bibelcitate in muhammedanischen Schriften," ZAW 13 (1893): 315–321; Gérard Lecomte, "Les citations de l'ancien et du nouveau testament dans l'œuvre d'Ibn Qutayba" *Arabica* 5 (1950): 34–46; Franz Altheim, "Die Älteste Arabische Genesis-Übersetzung," in Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, eds., *Die Araber in der alten Welt* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1964), 332–343; Albert Isteero, "Abdullāh Muslim Ibn Qutayba's Biblical Quotations and their Source: An Inquiry into the Earlier Existing Arabic Bible Translations," Ph.D. dissertation, The John Hopkins University, 1990.

23 Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 121–122; Georges Vajda, "Judaeo-Arabica: Observations sur quelques citations bibliques chez Ibn Qotayba" REJ 99 (1935): 68–80.

24 GCAL 1: 49.

his *Vorlage* was a translation from the Peshiṭta, the exact source could not be established.

A comparison with the various traditions classified and described in the inventory of manuscripts (see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts) reveals that Ibn Qutayba must have had a copy of **Arab^{Syr}1** at his disposal. Although there are variants, there can be no doubt that **Arab^{Syr}1** was the source for Ibn Qutayba's quotations. The following table presents the text of Gen 1 as exhibited in Sinai, MS Ar. 2 and in ʿUkāsha's edition of *Kitāb al-maʿārif*.[25] For the latter, MS Vienna (*siglum* و) has to be preferred, since it presents the translation most faithfully.

Sinai, MS Ar. 2[26]	MS Vienna in ʿUkāsha's edition
(1) ان اول ما خلق الله السما والارض	(1) ان اول خلق الله تعالى من خليقته
(2) وكانت الارض خربة خاوية وكانت	السماء والارض (2) كانت الارض خربة
الظلمة على الغمر وروح الله ترف على	خاوية وكانت الظلمة على الغمرة وكانت
الما (3) وقال الله ليكن نورا فكان نورا	ريح الله تبارك وتعالى ترف على وجه الماء
(4) وراى الله ان النور حسنا وميز الله	(3) فقال الله ليكن النورا فكان نور (4) فرآه
النور من الظلمة (5) فدعا الله النور النهار	الله حسنا فميزه الله من الظلمة (5) وسماه
وسما الظلمة الليل وكان مسا وكان صباح	نهارا وسمى الظلمة ليلا فكان مساء وكان
يوم الاحد (6) وقال الله ليكن ارقيع وسط	إصباح يوم الأحد (6) وقال الله عز وجل
الما فليجل بين الما والما (7) وصنع الله	ليكن سقف وسط الماء فليحل بين الماء
الارقيع وميز بين الما الذي اسفل وبين الما	والماء (7) فكان سقف وميز بين الماء
الاعلا من الارقيع فكان هكذا (8) فدعا	الذي هو أسفل وبين الماء الذي هو أعلى

25 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba: *al-Maʿārif li-bn Qutayba*, ed. Tharwat ʿUkāsha (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub, 1960).

26 I have only given the verses that have a correspondence in Ibn Qutayba. A few variants between the two versions can be blamed on copyists. For example, لسوسه for ܠܓܢܣܗ in Gen 1:11 is a misreading of لجنسه. Equally, ليحرك for ليخرج (ܢܪܚܫܘܢ) in Gen 1:20, as well as أبوان for انوان (ܢܘܢܐ) in Gen 1:28 and خويلة for حويلة (ܚܘܝܠܐ) in 2:11, seem to be scribal errors whose source is the transcription into *naskh* of an early unvocalized copy in ʿAbbāsid book hand.

(8) فسمى الله ذلك السقف الأعلى سماء
فكان مساء وكان صباح يوم الاثنين
(9) وقال الله عز وجل ليجتمع الماء
كله الذى تحت السماء الى مكان
واحد فلير اليبس فكان ذلك كذلك
(10) فدعا الله اليبس الأرض وسمى
ما اجتمع من المياه البحور (11) ثم
قال الله عز وجل لتخرج الأرض زهرة
العشب والشجر ذا الحمل لسوسه
(12) واخرجت الارض ذلك ورآه الله
حسنا (13) وكان مساء وكان مسا وكان
إصباح يوم الثلاثا (14) وقال الله عز
وجل ليكن نوران في سقف السماء ليميزا
بين الليل والنهار وليكونا آيات وللأيام
والسنين (16) فكان نوران الأكبر لسلطان
النهار والاصغر والنجوم لسلطان الليل
(18) فرآه الله حسنا (19) فكان مساء وكان
صباح يوم لاربعاء (20) وقال الله عز وجل
ليحرك الماء كل نفس حية وليطر الطير على
الأرض في جو السقف (21) وخلق الله عز
وجل تنانين عظاما وحرك الماء كل نفس
حية لجنسها وكل طائر لجنسه فراى الله ذلك
حسنا (22) فباركهن وقال اثمروا واكثروا
(23) وكان مساء وكان إصباح يوم الخميس
(26) ثم قال الله عز وجل نخلق بشرا بصورتنا
(28) وتاركهما الله عز وجل وقال أثمروا
وأكثروا واملئوا الأرض وتسلطوا على أبوان

الله الارقيع السما وكان مسا وكان صباح
يوم الاثنين (9) وقال الله لجميع المياه التى
تحت السما لتجتمع الى مكان واحد ولير
في اليبس فكان كذاك (10) فدعا الله اليبس
الارض وما اجتمع من الامياه سماها
البحار ورى الله انه حسنا (11) وقال
الله لتخرج الارض زهرا وعشبا وزرعا
لجنسه والشجر ذا الحمل المثمر لجنسه
الذي منه نصبة على الارض فكان هكذا
(12) فاخرجت الارض زهرا وعشبا
وزرعا لجنسه والشجر ذا الحمل غراسة لجنسه
ورى الله انه حسن (13) وكان مسا وكان
صباح يوم الثلثا (14) وقال الله ليكون نوران
في جو السما ليضيا النهار والليل وليكونا
الايات والازمان والايام (16) فصنع
الله نورين عظيمين اما النور الأكبر فجعله
لسلطان النهار واما النور الاصغر فجعله
لسلطان الليل مع الكواكب (18) وجعلهما
الله سلطانا على النهار والليل وليميز الضو
من الظلمة ورى الله انه حسن (19) فكان
مسا وكان صباح يوم الاربعا (20) وقال
الله ليخرج الما نفس حية وليطير الطير على
الارض في سقف السما (21) وخلق الله
تنينين عظام وكانت نفس حية حركها الما
لجنسها وكل طير ذو اجناحين لجنسه فرى
الله ان انه حسنا (22) فبركهن وقال اثمروا
واكثروا واملوا الما وليطير الطير (23) فكان

البحار وطير السماء والأنعام والدواب
(29) وعشب الأرض وشجرها وثمرها
(31) ورأى كل ما خلق فإذا هو حسن جدا
وكان مساء وكان إصباح يوم الجمعة

مساوكان صباح يوم الخميس (26) وقال الله
نخلق بشرا بصورتنا وعلى تمثالنا واسلطهم
على نون البحور وطير السما والانعام وكل
ماشية الارض وكل شي تتحرك على وجه
الارض (28) وباركهما وقال اثمروا
واكثروا واملوا الارض واحيوها وسلطوا
على اسمك البحور وطير السما والانعام
والدواب وكل شي تحرك على وجه الارض
(29) وقال هذا قد اعطيتكما كل عشب
يزرع على وجه الارض وكل شجر ذات ثمرة
تزرع ثمرتها فلتكن لكم لتاكولوا (31) وراى
الله كل ما خلق فاذا هو حسن جدا وكان مسا
وكان صباح يوم الجمعة وهو اليوم السادس

The same translation type is exhibited in the quotations embedded in *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* and *Taʾwīl mushkil al-qurʾān*. For example, Gen 2:17 is cited as *wa-lā taʾkul min shajrat ʿilm al-khayr wa-l-sharr fa-innaka yawm taʾkul minha tamūt* "you shall not eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, for in the day that you eat thereof you shall die" in *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* and *Kitab al-maʿārif*, identical to Sinai, MS Ar. 2, which merely adds *mawtan* to *tamūt* ("death you will die").[27] Gen 2:3 appears in *Taʾwīl mushkil al-qurʾān* as *ṭahharahu min ajl annahu istirāḥa fīhi min khalīqatihi allatī khalaq* "and he hallowed it; because on it he rested from his work which he created."[28] The verse is not found in *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* and is only summarized in *Kitāb al-maʿārif* as *wa-bārakahu wa-ṭahharahu wa-qaddasa*.[29] It seems, then, that Ibn Qutayba repeatedly consulted his manuscript of **Arab$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$1** in order to incorporate biblical proof-texts into his treatises. Such a manuscript must have come into his possession prior to the composition of *Taʾwīl mushkil al-qurʾān*, which

27 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba: *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥammad Zuhrī al-Najjār (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1983): 139; *al-Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha: 12.

28 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah, *Tāʾwīl Mushkil*, 77.

29 *al-Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha: 11.

is usually regarded as the earliest of the three.[30] The absence of quotations from **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$**1** in his *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, which, as noted, draws its quotations from ʿAlī ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla*, is striking, and may indicate that the work, whose dating is debated, was in fact composed first, at a stage of Ibn Qutayba's career when no Arabic translation of the Pentateuch was available to him. Moreover, the use of Pentateuch quotations increases in his later works, peaking in *Kitāb al-maʿārif*.

Just as ʿAlī ibn Rabban modified quotations when he incorporated them into his writings, Ibn Qutayba's version, too, shows some authorial alterations. They attest to Ibn Qutayba's attempt to adapt the translation to his Muslim readership. Apprehensive that the elliptic and repetitive style of biblical narrative might interfere with the cohesion of his own composition, Ibn Qutayba often omitted parts of verses or simply paraphrased them. This habit is best illustrated in his quotation of Gen 1:12 as *wa-akhrajat al-arḍ dhālika* "and the earth brought that forth," in which *dhālika* summarizes the recurring "herb and grass and seed according to its kind and trees bearing fruits according to its kind." He also replaced the many Syriacisms in the translation; for example *arqīʿ*, which renders Syriac *arqīʿ* "firmament," was replaced by the genuine Arabic *saqf* "sky, heavens."

What is more, Ibn Qutayba exhibits great concern about conveying the translation to a Muslim context. *Rabbunā*, translating Syriac *maryā*, was removed on theological grounds; Muslim exaltations of God, such as *taʿālā, tabāraka wa-taʿālā*, and *ʿazza wa-jalla*, were frequently introduced. Names are given according to the Muslim tradition, such as Qabīl for Qāyn "Cain" and Idrīs for Akhnūkh "Enoch." Anthropomorphic depictions of the deity, for example his walking in the garden in Gen 3:8 (*wa-huwwa yamshī fī al-janna* "while he was walking in the garden" as found in Sinai, MS Ar. 2), were eliminated. In Gen 3:9, God's question as to Adam's whereabouts contradicts his omniscience and was therefore omitted by Ibn Qutayba. The quotation of Gen 3:20, *wa-sammā Allāh ʿazza wa-jalla imraʾatahu Ḥawāʾ li-annahā umm kull ḥayy* "and God, glorious and sublime, called his wife Eve for she is the mother of all living," demonstrates the adjustment of the biblical narrative to Muslim tradition: It is God who named Eve, and not Adam, as in the Bible.

30 On the chronology of Ibn Qutayba's compositions, see Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*: 85–92.

4.3 Al-Ṭabarī

Born 839 in Āmul (Ṭabaristān), Abū Jaʿfār Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī received his education in Rayy and later in Kūfa and Baṣra.[31] To support himself after moving to Baghdad, he became the tutor to one of the vizier Ibn Khāqān's sons. The latter had also patronized ʿAlī ibn Rabban, with whom al-Ṭabarī is reported to have studied medicine in Baghdad. In Egypt, where he arrived in (probably) 867, al-Ṭabarī gained recognition as an independent scholar and composed most of his works on law, tradition, the Qurʾān, and history, under the patronage of several officials. He died in 923.

His most influential compositions are the *Tafsīr*, known as *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl ay al-Qurʾān*, and the history, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*. Both contain quotations from the Pentateuch: Num 13:1–20 and 13:30–14:45 are found in the *Tafsīr*[32] and Gen 4:9–16 in the *Taʾrīkh*.[33] These passages are introduced by an *isnād* attributing them to Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīra* of the Prophet: *ḥaddathanā Ibn Ḥumayd qāla* [*ḥadda*]*thanā Salama ʿan Ibn Isḥāq* "according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salama—Ibn Isḥāq."[34] Al-Ṭabarī is known to have studied Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīra*, which had a great influence on his own writings, at Rayy.[35] The transmission history of the *Sīra* is complex; although the preservation of the original work is due mainly to Ibn Hishām, some additional material is found in al-Ṭabarī's work.

Like Ibn Qutayba's quoted passages, those in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* and *Taʾrīkh* are close to **Arab$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$1**. In contrast to the former, however, they are brought with few authorial alterations, as shown by the following comparison of Gen 4:9–16 in Sinai, MS Ar. 2 and the *Taʾrīkh*.

31 For a comprehensive biography, see Franz Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabarī: General Introduction, and, From the Creation to the Flood* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988).

32 *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī: Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Turkī (Riyadh: Dār ʿĀlam al-Kutub, 2003).

33 *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammad ibn Djarir at-Tabari*, ed. Jacob Barth (Leiden: Brill, 1879): 141–142.

34 The quotations in the Tafsīr have been studied by Joseph Witztum, "Ibn Isḥāq and the Pentateuch in Arabic," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 40 (2013): 1–71. I am grateful to Witztum for sending me a summary of the lecture on which this article is based, prior to publication.

35 The passage has received attention by earlier scholars; see Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*: 18 and Adang, *Muslim Writers*: 121–122. Cf. Witztum, "Ibn Isḥāq."

Sinai, MS Ar. 2

(9) اين هابيل اخوك فقال لا ادري ان
رقيب انا عليه (10) فقال الله لقاين ماذا
فعلت ان صوت دم اخيك ينادي الي
من الارض (11) من الان ملعون انت
من الارض التي فتحت فاها فقبلت دم
اخيك من يدك (12) واذا انت عملت في
الارض فانها لا تعود ان تعطيك حرثها
وتكون فزعا نهبا في الارض (13) فقال قاين
لله عظمت خطيتي من ان تغفرها (14) وقد
اخرجتني اليوم عن وجه الارض واتوادي
من قدامك واكون فزعا ونهبا في الارض
وكل من وجدني يقتلني (15) فقال الله ربنا
كلا كذاك كل قاتل اما قاين انه يجزي وحدة
بسبعة وجعل الله في قاين اية الا يقتله من
وجده (16) فخرج قاين من قدامه فسكن
ارض نود في شرقي عدن

Edition Barth

(9) أين أخوك هابيل قال ما أدري ماكنت
عليه رقيبا (10) فقال الله له إن صوت دم
أخيك ليناديني من الأرض (11) الآن
أنت ملعون من الأرض التي فتحت فاها
فتقبلت[36] دم أخيك من يدك (12) فإذا
أنت عملت في الأرض فإنها لا تعود تعطيك
حرثها حتى تكون فزعا تائها في الأرض
(13) فقال قين عظمت خطيئتي من أن
تغفرها (14) قد أخرجتني اليوم عن وجه
الأرض وأتوارى من قدّامك وأكون
فزعا تائها في الأرض وكلّ من لقيني قتلني
(15) فقال الله عزّ وجلّ ليس ذلك كذلك
فلا يكون كل من قتل قتيلا يجزى بواحد
سبعة ولكن[37] قينا يجزى سبعة وجعل
الله في قين آية لئلا يقتله كلّ من وجده
(16) وخرج قين من قدّام الله عزّ وجلّ من
شرقي عدن الجنة

As Witztum shows, some of the variants seem to derive from scribal errors and corruptions during the course of transmission.[38] The question remains, however, whether these quotations in fact came from Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīra*, as stated in the *isnād*. While Witztum avers that they did, my approach here is more skeptical. Since there are no accurate quotations from the Bible in Ibn Hishām's recension of the *Sīra*, some doubt may be cast on its reliability. It is conspicuous

36 فتقبلت, found in the apparatus, must be the original reading.

37 من قتل is added here in the edition on the basis of conjecture. In light of **Arab$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$1**, however, this addition is superfluous. Although the wording is slightly different, al-Ṭabarī's text captures the exegetical dimension of the translation: Only Cain will be requited sevenfold, whereas every other manslaughter is punished only once. This interpretation is also brought by the East-Syriac scholar Ibn al-Ṭayyib; see Sanders, *Commentaire sur la Genèse*: 43.

38 Witztum, "Ibn Isḥāq."

that the quotations occur only in al-Ṭabarī's transmission of that work. Further, the scanty evidence for the emergence of **Arab^{Syr}1**, which indicates that the translation was produced in Iraq in the second half of the ninth century (see Part Two), negates the possibility that it could have been known to Ibn Isḥāq. The quotations might have been appended to material from Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīra* by the later transmitters, such as Ibn Ḥumayd or Salama. Both scholars taught al-Ṭabarī at Rayy and are mentioned in the *isnād*.[39] It is also possible that the quotations should be attributed to al-Ṭabarī himself. The added passages from an Arabic translation complemented Ibn Isḥāq's accounts of biblical matters, just as Ibn Qutayba juxtaposed them to the reports by Wahb ibn Munabbih.

There seems to be support for this idea in the text itself. For example, the lengthy quotation of Num 13:1–20 in the *Tafsīr* is preceded by a short account that appears to introduce the dispatch of the spies to Canaan and the subsequent invasion. The passage elaborates on the Qurʾānic verse, "Allāh made a covenant of old with the Children of Israel and we raised among them twelve chieftains" (Q 5:12) and offers the historical context of the divine promise. It is introduced by the aforementioned *isnād, ḥaddathanā Ibn Ḥumayd qāla* [*ḥadda*]*thanā Salama ʿan Ibn Isḥāq* and probably preserves material from the first part of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīra*, covering the period between the creation of the world and the coming of the Prophet, and known as *Mubtadaʾ*.[40] This part, omitted in Ibn Hishām's recension, survives almost exclusively in quotations in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*. The subsequent incorporation of Num 13:1–20 thus provides the biblical proof-text for Ibn Isḥāq's discussion. It stands as an independent unit and adds details to the narrative already alluded to. This sequence makes it plausible that the quotation was a later insertion rather than gleaned directly from the original *Sīra*. The question as to the authenticity of the *isnād* and thus the source of the citations is a complex subject and a decisive answer will have to await further research.

4.4 Ibn Ḥazm

Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm was born in Cordoba in 994.[41] His father served at the court of al-Manṣūr ibn Abī ʿĀmir, the *ḥājib* of the Umayyad

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39 Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*: 17–18.

40 Comp. Gordon Darnell Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet: a Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1989).

41 The most detailed account of Ibn Ḥazm's intellectual biography is found in Miguel Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba y su Historia crítica de las ideas religiosas* (Madrid: Tip. de la Revista de archivos, 1927–32), vol. 1. And now also Camilla Adang, Maribel Fierro,

Caliph Hishām II. It is reported that Ibn Ḥazm received his early education, including traditional subjects such as Qur'ān, Ḥadīth, law, and grammar, as well as rhetoric, poetry, and calligraphy, in his father's *ḥarīm*. His aspirations to follow in his father's footsteps, however, were frustrated by the political upheavals that eventually led to the collapse of the Córdoba Caliphate. He was forced to leave the Umayyad capital in 1013 and devoted himself to political and military agitation under various leaders. The fast-changing power dynamics of al-Andalus, as well as his affiliation with the Ẓāhirī *madhab* of law, caused Ibn Ḥazm a great deal of trouble with both political and religious authorities and forced him into a restless life of wandering. Having become a *persona non grata* and failing to find a patron, he retired to his family estate near Huelva, where he died in 1064.

In addition to his eventful life, Ibn Ḥazm was a prolific author. According to his son, al-Faḍl Abū Rafīʿ, he produced 400 works, of which only a small number survive. The most famous among them is his largely autobiographical *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* (Necklace of the Dove). He also composed *al-Radd ʿalā Ibn al-Naghrīla al-yahūdī* (Refutation of Ibn al-Naghrīla, the Jew), in all likelihood directed against Samuel ha-Nagid.[42] His *magnum opus*, however, was *Kitāb al-fiṣal fī-l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal* (Book of Opinions on Religions, Sects, and Heresies), which expanded his earlier *Kitāb al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* (Book of Roots and Branches). This is a heresiography on Muslim religious and philosophical systems. It includes a polemic on the "Alteration by the Jews and Christians" (*Iẓhār tabdīl al-yahūd wa-l-naṣārā*), which was initially written as an independent treatise but later incorporated into the larger work by the author himself.[43]

Although the large number of Pentateuch quotations in the section of the *Iẓhār* that refutes the Jews' distortions of revelation has attracted scholarly attention, there is no consensus as to their provenance. Algermissen, who wrote a monograph on the topic in 1933, conjectured that they must derive from a Palestinian Targum.[44] Lazarus-Yafeh suggested they were taken from

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and Sabine Schmidtke, eds., *Ibn Hazm of Cordoba: The Life and Works of a Controversial Thinker* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

42 The biblical quotations in this work are discussed by Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "Acerca de los testimonia bíblica contenidos en el *Radd ʿalà Ibn Nagrīllah al-Yahūdī*," *Iberia Judaica* 1 (2009): 157–198.

43 On the book's complicated textual history, see Samir Kaddouri, "Le livre décisif sur les religions et les sectes d'Ibn Hazm: entre l'histoire du texte et la critique textuelle," Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden University, 2013.

44 Algermissen, *Die Pentateuchzitate*.

a Christian translation.[45] Most scholars, though (e.g. Hirschfeld, di Matteo, Zucker, Tritton, and Adang), point to the striking similarity to Saadiah's *Tafsīr*.[46] Because the quotations are not fully identical with the Judaeo-Arabic transmission of the latter, these scholars asserted that Ibn Ḥazm became acquainted with the *Tafsīr* orally from a Jewish informant.

The similarities are evident in the following table, which juxtaposes Ibn Ḥazm's quotation of Gen 2:10–15 with St. Petersburg, RNL, MS Yevr. II C 1, a copy of Saadiah's *Tafsīr* that is roughly contemporary with the *Kitāb al-fiṣal*.

Kitāb al-fiṣal fī al-milal wa-al-ahwāʾ wa-al-niḥal li-Abī Muḥammad ʿAlī Ibn Ḥazm al-Ẓāhirī[47]	St. Petersburg, RNL, MS Yevr. II C 1 (fol. 3r)
(10) وبعد ذلك قال ونهر يخرج من عدن فيسقي الجنان ومن ثم يفترق فيصير اربعة رؤس (11) اسم احدها النيل وهو محيط بجميع بلاد زويلة الذي به الذهب (12) وذهب ذلك البلد جيد وبها اللؤلؤ وحجارة البلور (13) واسم الثاني جيحان وهو محيط بجميع بلاد الحبشة (14) واسم الثالث الدجلة وهو السائر شرق الموصل واسم الرابع الفرات (15) وأخذ الله ادم ووضعه في جنان عدن	(10) ונהר יכרג מן עדן יסקי אלגנאן ומן תם יפתרק פיציר ארבעה רווס (11) אסם אחדהם אלניל והו מחיט בגמיע בלד אלזוילה אלדי תם אלדהב (12) ודהב דלך אלבלד גיד ותם אללולו וחגארה אלבלור (13) ואסם אלנהר אלתאני גיחאן והו מחיט בגמיע בלד אלחבשה (14) ואסם אלנהר אלתאלת אלדגלה והו יסיר פי שרקי אלמוצל ואלנהר אלראבע הו אלפראת (15) פאכד אללה אדם ואנזלה פי גנאן עדן

45 Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*: 123–136.

46 See Hartwig Hirschfeld, "Mohammedan Criticism of the Bible," *JQR* 13 (1901): 222–240; Ignazio di Matteo, "Le pretese contraddizioni della S. Scrittura secondo Ibn Ḥazm," *Bessarione* 39 (1923): 77–129; Moshe Zucker, "Berurim be-toledot ha-wiqquḥim ha-datiyim she ben ha-yahadut we-ha-islam," in *Festschrift Armand Kaminka zum siebzigsten Geburtstage* (Vienna: Verlag des Wiener Maimonides-Instituts, 1937): 31–48; Arthur Stanley Tritton, "The Old Testament in Muslim Spain," *Bulletin of the School for Oriental and African Studies* 21 (1958): 392–395; Adang, *Muslim Writers*: 136.

47 Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm: *Kitāb al-fiṣal*, 2: 118.

It can be observed that variants are rather minor and may derive from authorial changes by Ibn Ḥazm himself or subsequent copyists.[48] Ibn Ḥazm's approach to the biblical text did not differ much from his predecessors': he omitted parts and changed the wording to suit the stylistic needs of his *Iẓhār*. In Gen 3:24, the original Judaeo-Arabic *li-yaḥfaẓū ṭarīq shajrat al-ḥayāt* "to guard the way of the tree of life" is paraphrased as *bi-ḥirāsat shajrat al-ḥayāt* "for the protection of the tree of life."[49]

It is also possible that a number of variants derived from his *Vorlage*. Although scholars assert that he acquired these verses orally, Ibn Ḥazm states clearly that he used a manuscript copy. His quotation of Gen 4:19, for example, is introduced by *qabla dhālika bi-naḥw waraqatayni* "this is found two pages earlier," linking the verse to a preceding citation from Gen 5.[50] If we do not reject this statement as a literary *topos*, he appears to have had a copy of Saadiah's *Tafsīr* in Arabic script at his disposal.[51] Such copies are attested (**Arab$^{\text{Heb}}$1**, see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts); the assumption that he used one is strengthened by several unique readings in his quotations. The *Iẓhār* presents Gen 3:24 as *wa-askana fī sharqī jannat ʿAdn al-Karūbīm* "and He placed at the east of the Garden of Eden the *cherubim*." By contrast, Judaeo-Arabic copies render the cherubim as *malāʾika* "angels." The reading *al-Karūbīm*, however, is found in the Coptic recension of the *Tafsīr* (**Arab$^{\text{Heb}}$1b**), as for example in Florence, BML, MS Or. 112, fol. 5v (copied 1245–1246). What is more, in Gen 10:9 Nimrod is called *jabbār ṣayd* "a mighty hunter."[52] This reading disagrees with Judaeo-Arabic *jabbāran makhūfan* "a feared hero," but is found in the Coptic recension (fol. 13r).

48 Since there is no critical apparatus in Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-fiṣal*, scribal alterations remain an assumption that is suggested by a comparison to the quotations addressed above. A comprehensive consultation of manuscripts was beyond the scope of the present research.

49 *Kitāb al-fiṣal*, 2: 121.

50 Ibid.

51 Compare the remarks in Adang, *Muslim Writers*: 136–137.

52 *Kitāb al-fiṣal*, 2: 123.

CHAPTER 5

The Arabic Pentateuch in Early Printed Books

The invention of movable type gave early modern Europe new tools for advancing the knowledge of the original language of the Bible and of its early versions. The new technology made it possible to lay a durable foundation for textual criticism and to preserve the cumulative scholarly efforts of several generations of scholars for posterity.[1] Soon Arabic versions, too, were printed, leading to about some of the most splendid monuments of the new erudite discipline of *philologia sacra*. Scholars gained their first significant awareness of Arabic versions of the Pentateuch as a mean to clarify many unclear passages in the Scriptures through the printed editions, long before they their focus shifted to medieval codices.[2] The print editions were the main source—perhaps only source, given the scarcity of manuscripts—for scholarly work with these texts.[3]

There are four editions from the earliest period of printed Arabic Pentateuchs: the Constantinople Polyglot of Eliezer Soncino (1546), Erpenius' *Pentateuchus Mosis Arabicè* (1622), the Arabic portions of the Paris Polyglot (1628–45), which were reprinted in the London Polyglot (1653–57), and the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (1671–73). They are historically interwoven and often interrelated through an overlap of the scholars involved. These editions were generally based on medieval manuscripts that were obtained explicitly to be printed, in a transitional book culture that was not clearly demarcated from that of the earlier chirographic era. The texts were edited and reproduced as they appeared in the manuscript available to the printer, with

1 The most useful surveys of early Arabic print editions remain Jacques Lelong, *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Paris: André Pralard, 1709); idem, *Discours historique sur les principales éditions des Bibles polyglottes* (Paris: André Pralard, 1713); and Christian Friedrich von Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica* (Halle: I.C. Hendelii, 1811). More recently, see Rijk Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis: A Description of Books Illustrating the Study and Printing of Oriental Languages in 16th- and 17th-Century Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 1976); Eva Hanebutt-Benz, Dagmar Glass, and Geoffrey Roper, *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter* (Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002).

2 The importance of Arabic versions for textual criticism was emphasized in Robert Wakefield's *On the Three Languages*, in Gabriel Sionita and Johannes Hesronita's *Grammatica Arabica Maronitarum* (1616), sig. aii^{r}–aii^{v}, and by Erpenius in the preface to his *Pentateuchus Mosis Arabicè* (1622). See above, Chapter 1.

3 On the shortage of earlier manuscripts, see Karl Dannenfeld, "The Renaissance Humanists and the Knowledge of Arabic," *Studies in the Renaissance* 2 (1955): 96–117.

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no attempts at textual criticism. The Paris Polyglot (and its London counterpart) included the entire Old and New Testaments and followed the custom of medieval manuscript Bibles of juxtaposing versions that differed with regard to their date of composition, religious affiliation, and source language. A new kind of translations emerged only with Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (Psalms 1850, NT 1851) and Eli Smith and Cornelius van Dyck (entire Bible, 1860–65). In reaction to the strong criticism of the Arabic Bibles printed until then, these new versions were produced within the span of a few years by one translator or a defined group of translators.

Early Arabic printing was a predominantly Italian affair. It is no coincidence that the two earliest imprints are associated with Venice and Genoa, cities with a long tradition of trading with the Near East. The first Arabic book produced with movable type was the "Fano Book of Hours" (*Kitāb ṣalāt al-sawāʿī*),[4] produced in 1514 by the Venetian printer Gregorio de Gregori at the behest of Pope Julius II for missionary work among Melkite Christians. Two years later, the orientalist Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536), who was bishop of Nebbio, issued a polyglot Psalter.[5] Its eight columns (whence its designation *Psalterium Octaplum*) contain the Masoretic Text, a Latin translation thereof, the Vulgate, the LXX, an Arabic version, the Targum with a Latin paraphrase, and running *scholia*. A polyglot version of the Psalter had been promised to readers by Aldo Manuzio in the preface to his undated Greek edition (probably 1497) of Psalms.[6] However, it never came about and only specimens survive. It has been suggested that Aldo's idea of printing Psalms in multiple languages derived from Gershom Soncino, who had likewise announced a polyglot Psalter in the

4 See Miroslav Krek, "Was the First Arabic Book really Printed at Fano?" *Middle East Librarians Association Notes* 10 (1977): 11–16; idem, "The Enigma of the First Arabic Book Printed from Moveable Types," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38 (1979): 203–212; and Giorgio Vercellin, *Venezia e l'origine della stampa in caratteri arabi* (Padua: Il poligrafo, 2001): 58–69. There were earlier attempts to print Arabic. In his *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486), Bernard von Breydenbach printed the Arabic column of an Arabic-Latin vocabulary in Latin characters. Similarly, Pedro de Alcalà renders all Arabic words in his *Arte para ligeramente saber le lengua araviga* and *Vocabulista aravigo* (both 1505) in Latin transcriptions.

5 See Vercellin, *Venezia*: 70–75. On Giustiniani's biography, see Hartmut Bobzin, "Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536) und seine Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Arabistik," in Werner Diem and Abdoldjavad Falaturi, eds., *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 26. bis 30. September 1988 in Köln. Ausgewählte Vorträge* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1990): 131–139.

6 Antoine Augustin Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde, ou, Histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Books. 1991), flyleaf.

preface to his *Introductio ad Litteras Hebraicas* (1510).[7] All these previous North Italian attempts may have been the precursors of the *Psalterium Octaplum*.

Born in Genoa, Giustiniani entered the Dominican order in his early years and studied Hebrew with Pico della Mirandola. He was made bishop of Nebbio (Corsica), but later moved to Paris to teach Arabic and Hebrew. Giustiniani published a number of scholarly works, including an edition of Job containing the Hebrew text, the Vulgate, and a new translation into Latin. He also composed a history of Corsica and edited a Latin translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, as well as Moses Qimḥī's Hebrew grammar, both of which he published in Paris in 1520. Giustiniani died in 1536 in shipwreck on his way back to Nebbio.[8] The Psalter, printed by Pietro Paolo Porro, is usually regarded as the first Polyglot ever printed.[9] Giustiniani's publication was extremely popular (see Chapter 1) and inspired later printed Polyglots.[10] In his preface he promised readers a Polyglot of the entire Bible; but this remained unaccomplished.

The idea of printing an entire Arabic Bible found a powerful patron in Pope Gregory XIII.[11] He perceived it as a necessary instrument for missionary work in the Near East. His efforts laid solid foundations for the project, although it was not realized during his lifetime. First, he gave orders for a papal

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7 Moses Marx, "Gershom (Hieronymus) Soncino's Wander-Years in Italy, 1498–1527: Exemplar Judaicae Vitae," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 11 (1936): 427–501, on 456.

8 See John Robert Jones, "Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)," Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1988, 28. He also composed an Arabic grammar that was never published. The manuscript was dedicated and presented to Egedio of Viterbo. It was acquired from the latter's collection by Johann Widmanstetter and is today catalogued as Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Ar. 920. See Bobzin, "Agostino Giustiniani," 135–136; Joseph Aumer, *Die Arabischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München* (Munich: Palm'sche Hofbuchhandlung, 1866): 419.

9 Although the volumes of the Complutensian Polyglot date from 1514–1517, the final publication was delayed until 1517. It therefore actually postdates Giustiniani's Psalter.

10 In addition to the examples mentioned in Chapter 1, the immense influence of Giustiniani's edition is illustrated by Johann Potken's *Psalterium in Quatuor Linguis* (1518), a Hebrew-Ethiopic-Greek-Latin tetraglot whose title page is identical to the Polyglot Psalter's. It is obvious that Potken's Polyglot was inspired by Giustiniani's to a certain degree; see Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis*, 16.

11 See Ludwig Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1886–1933), 9:743–745. For Gregory XIII's Arabic printing project to serve missionary needs, see the document published by Vercellin, *Venezia*: 24–25, n157, as well as Raimondi's statements in Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, 145 n20; and John Robert Jones, "The Arabic and Persian Studies of Giovan Battista Raimondi (c. 1536–1614)," M.A. thesis, Warburg Institute, University of London, 1994: 97 n54. On Raimondi, see also below.

mission to the Maronite and Syriac-Orthodox Churches, which would also secure appropriate manuscripts that could serve as a basis for a future print edition.[12] The task was entrusted in February 1578 to Cardinal Carafa, who assigned the Jesuits Raggio and Giovanni Battista Eliano to carry it out.[13] The latter, a convert from Judaism and grandson of the great Jewish scholar Elias Levita, appeared particularly suitable. Eliano had already been part of a papal mission to the Copts in 1561–1563, albeit with quite limited success.[14] In addition, he knew some Arabic and had experience printing that language.[15] The Jesuits embarked for Tripoli, where they arrived in June 1578. Eliano was called back to Rome in February 1579. The Syriac-Orthodox Patriarch had refused to meet him, but he could relay the promises of obedience to the Pope by the Maronite patriarch Michael al-Rizzī. His quest for manuscripts to be printed was not crowned with success at first. Eliano had attempted to obtain an Arabic Bible from Michael al-Rizzī, but the latter expressed his apol-

12 Gregory XIII's decree was published by Antoine Rabbath, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du christianisme en Orient* (Paris: A. Picard, 1905–1921), 1:140–143. See also Ronny Vollandt, "Che portono al ritorno qui una Bibbia Arabica integra: A History of the Biblia Sacra Arabica (1671–73)," in Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala and Samir Khalil Samir, eds., *Græco-Latina et Orientalia. Studia in Honorem Angeli Urbani Heptagenarii* (Beirut: CEDRAC, 2013): 401–418.

13 Carafa later presided over the Maronite college after its foundation (see below). He also became known from his leading participation in the production of the Sixtine Septuagint, undertaken under the auspices of Pope Sixtus V and printed in 1587. See Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2000): 71.

14 See Alastair Hamilton, *The Copts and the West, 1439–1822: The European Discovery of the Egyptian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 58–73.

15 While his family was living in Isny, Eliano had worked for the famous printer Daniel Bomberg. After his conversion to Catholicism, Pope Pius V assigned him the task of procuring Arabic fonts for the Collegio Romano; see Hendrik D.L. Vervliet, *Cyrillic & Oriental Typography in Rome at the End of the Sixteenth Century: an Inquiry into the Later Work of Robert Granjon (1578–90)* (Berkeley: Poltron Press, 1981): 23. There he printed an Arabic translation of Pius V's *Fidei Orthodoxae Brevis* (*Iʿtiqād al-amāna al-urthūdūksiya kanīsa rūmiya* [!]), in 1566. His knowledge of Arabic seems to have been quite inadequate. Graf calls his translation "sehr unbeholfen und mangelhaft" (*GCAL* 4: 213). During his earlier mission to the Copts, his lack of that language constituted a major impediment; see Hamilton, *The Copts and the West*, 60, 63, and 67. See also the comments by his companion Cristoforo Rodríguez (Rabbath, *Documents inédits,* 1:251, 254, 259, 262, 265, 267 and 294), as well as his own statements (ibid.: 240, 243, 308); José Sola, "Juan Bautista Eliano: Un documento autobiográfico inédito," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 4 (1935): 291–321, on 298. In the negotiations with the Maronites, too, his broken Arabic caused more than a little amusement; see Sami Kuri, *Monumenta Proximi-Orientis 1: Palestine-Liban-Syrie-Mesopotamie (1523–1583)* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1989): *113–*118.

ogies to the Pope that he could not be of assistance in that matter. His library, he explained, contained only books in Syriac, because the Turks had burned all the ancient codices in Arabic.[16] Ultimately, with the assistance of the Melkite bishop of Tripoli, Dorotheus, Eliano was able to bring back to Rome "the larger part of the Bible in Arabic" (la maggior parte della Bibbia in Arabico); as for the rest, he "had ordered that it be transcribed" (havendo lasciato ordine, che si trascriva il restante).[17]

Eliano was dispatched on a second mission to the Maronites, aimed at consolidating their allegiance to the Holy See; at its completion, he took the second part of the manuscript back to Rome. The codex is now Vatican, BAV, MSS Ar. 467–468.[18] The first part of this Arabic Bible, found in MS Ar. 468, contains the Old Testament according to the canon of the Septuagint and encompasses 760 folio pages (see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts).[19] The second part, MS Ar. 467, contains the four Gospels in 114 folios. The text of both manuscripts is laid out in two columns, with 24 lines per page. Several colophons are found in MS Ar. 468, two of which (on fols. 399v and 490r) mention that the codex was copied by the priest Dāwūd ibn Tādrus ibn Wahba on behalf of Giovanni Battista Eliano (Yūḥannā al-Maʿmadān).[20] The codex was deposited at the Maronite College and forgotten. It was only during the preparation of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (in 1671–73) that it was remembered and used as the most important manuscript source for that project.

As a result of the mission's success, Gregory XIII founded the Maronite College in Rome in 1584.[21] His intention was to install Maronite clergy in Rome, where they could receive a proper education in accordance with Catholic

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16 Alberto Vaccari, "Una Bibbia araba per il primo Gesuita venuto al Libano," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* 10 (1925): 79–104, on 92 n2.

17 As reported to the Pope by Eliano; see Tobias Anaissi, ed., *Collectio Documentorum Maronitarum* (Livorno: G. Fabbreschi, 1921): 60.

18 Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e vaticani codicibus* (Rome: in collegio Urbano apud Burliaeum, 1825–1838), 4:523–525. Note that the two parts in which the codex is preserved do not reflect the stages of its arrival in Rome. MS Ar. 467 contains the Gospels; MS Ar. 468, the Old Testament, divided into three parts. Vaccari conjectures that the portion brought back from the first journey covered approximately fols. 1–600 ("Una Bibbia," 86).

19 The Pentateuch is found in the version **Arab$^{\text{Syr_Hex}}$1b**, see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts.

20 For details on the colophons, see Vollandt, "Che portono al ritorno."

21 On the College, see Pierre Raphaël, *Le rôle du Collège maronite romain dans l'orientalisme aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles* (Beirut: Université Saint Joseph, 1950); Nasser Gemayel, *Les*

doctrine. It was hoped that the graduates would serve as a bridge to their coreligionists in the Levant. The foundation, however, may also be considered to be a further step in Gregory XIII's plans for a printed edition of the Bible in Arabic, since many of its products later played significant roles in its realization.

In the same year, 1584, Gregory XIII took another crucial step. He instructed Ferdinando de' Medici to establish a printing press in Rome for Eastern languages, which came to be known as the *Typographia Medicea*.[22] Its Arabic fonts were created by the famous French typographer Robert Granjon.[23] Giovanni Battista Raimondi, who had acquired a considerable knowledge of Arabic and Persian in the Middle East and worked in Domenico Basa's printing house, was appointed chief printer.[24] The *Typographia Medicea* debuted with an Arabic edition of the Gospels in 1590, intended for distribution to the Eastern Churches. A second edition, accompanied by a Latin translation and meant for the European market, was published a year later. Raimondi's *magnum opus*, however, was a Polyglot.[25] After the death of Pope Gregory XIII and Ferdinando de' Medici's entry into politics, though, the project lost its patrons and the press was sold to Raimondi in 1596. Although Raimondi continued to procure biblical manuscripts in Arabic through his intermediaries and presented the project to the public in the preface to his *Liber Tasriphi*, he failed to gain the support of Pope Sixtus V and the ambitious project never came about.[26]

échanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe: du Collège maronite de Rome (*1584*) *au Collège de Ayn-Warqa* (*1789*) (Beirut: Y. et Ph. Gemayel, 1984).

22 On Giovanni Battista Raimondi and the Medici Press, see Jones, "The Arabic and Persian Studies"; idem, "The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584–1614) and the Impact of its Arabic Publications on Northern Europe," in G.A. Russell, ed., *The "Arabick" Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1994): 88–108; G.E. Saltini, "Della Stamperia Orientale Medicea e di Giovan Battista Raimondi," *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani* 4 (1860): 257–308; and Alberto Tinto, *La Tipografia medicea orientale* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1987).

23 See Vervliet, *Cyrillic & Oriental Typography*.

24 Among the books printed by Domenico Basa were the *Liber VII precationum* (1584), a volume of Christian prayers in Arabic; a Gregorian calendar in Armenian (1584); and the *Hortus rerum mirabilium* (1584), a historical work by Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Khalīl, which was edited by Raimondi. This combination of Christian liturgical and Muslim scientific texts would also be characteristic of the *Typographia Medicea*. See further Tinto, *La Tipografia*: 19–22.

25 An announcement dated January 17, 1590, and published by Tinto (*La Tipografia medicea*, 74), states: "Il Granduca ha dimandato licence a Nostre Signore di possere stampare qua, nella stampa di Sua Altezza la Bibbia in lingua siriaco, caldea, arabica e persica."

26 In a memorandum, Raimondi mentions the project of a ten-language Polyglot to Cardinal Paleotto, in hope of gaining Pope Sixtus' support; see Jones, "The Arabic and

The *Typographia Medicea* effectively ceased to operate after Raimondi's death in 1614.

Italian printers, with their enduring aspiration of a complete Arabic Bible, had the expertise that was lacking in the rest of Europe. Their presses may with some justice be regarded as a bastion of early Oriental printing. Much of their efforts, however, soon found a continuation elsewhere.

5.1 The Constantinople Polyglot

The establishment of a Hebrew press in Constantinople in 1503 by David ben Nahmias ushered in a flourishing era for Jewish printing in the Ottoman Empire. Political persecution and commercial competition drove Gershom Soncino, head of the Soncino family and universally acknowledged as the towering figure[27] of five centuries of Hebrew printing, to wander from place to place, setting up print shops successively in Soncino, Casamaggiore, Brescia, Barco, Fano, Pesaro, Ortona, Rimini, and Cesena in Italy; and then in Salonica and, finally, in Constantinople in 1530. He died there in 1534 and was succeeded by his son, Eliezer.

Persian Studies," 19. It is also presented to the reader in the preface to *Liber Tasriphi Compositio Est Senis Alemami* (Rome: Ex Typographia Medicæ linguarum externarum, 1610). The last scholarly volume he printed was Giovanni Battista Eliano's *I'tiqād al-amāma al-urtūdūksiya*, in 1595, after which he applied himself to the printing of choral books. On his manuscript-hunters in the Near East, see Roberto Almalgia, "Giovan Battista Britti e Gerolamo Vecchietti viaggiatori in Oriente," *Rendiconti dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 11 (1956): 313–50; idem, "Giovan Battista Britti cosentino viaggiatore in Oriente," *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 25 (1957): 75–101; Francis Richard, "Les frères Veccietti, diplomates, érudites et aventuriers," in Alastair Hamilton et al., eds., *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005): 11–26. The Arabic Pentateuchs currently catalogued as Florence, BML, MSS Or. 57 and 112, were brought to Europe by the Vecchietti brothers; for details, see the description in Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts. Most of the scientific manuscripts printed by Raimondi came from the personal library of Ignazio Ni'matallāh, former patriarch of the Syriac-Orthodox Church, who had to seek protection in Rome, where Raimondi employed him to supervise the printing of the scientific texts. For details, see Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle chiese orientali con la S. Sede durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948): 10; Jones, "Learning Arabic," 41–44.

27 His printer's logo was a tower, the badge of the Lombardian city of Soncino. More than one-third of all surviving Hebrew incunabula were produced by the Soncino family. See Abraham Yaari, *Ha-defus ha-'aravi be-Qushṭa* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967).

The crowning achievements of Eliezer's twenty-three years of printing were the two Polyglot Pentateuchs of 1546 and 1547. While still in Italy, Gershom Soncino had announced a Polyglot Psalter in the preface to his "Introductio ad Litteras Hebraicas" (1510); it is plausible that his son's Polyglots had their origin in the Venetian context described above. Eliezer's first edition contained the Hebrew text, accompanied by Targum Onkelos, Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, a Judaeo-Persian translation by Jacob ben Josef Ṭāwūs, and Rashi's commentary. The second, issued a year later, has an identical *mise-en-page* but is printed in a different type-size.[28] The Judaeo-Arabic and the Judaeo-Persian versions were replaced by Judaeo-Spanish and Judaeo-Greek translations.[29]

Eliezer's edition of Saadiah's *Tafsīr* holds the distinction of being the earliest printed Judaeo-Arabic text as well as the first printed Arabic Pentateuch. Despite the importance of Eliezer's undertaking, few details are known concerning its production, the size of the print run, and its distribution.[30] It is certain that the Constantinople Polyglot was in great demand. Jacque August de Thou, custodian of the *Bibliothèque du Roi* and initiator of the Paris Polyglot (see below), tried for many years to obtain a copy through Achille de Harlay, the French ambassador to the Sublime Porte (1611–1620), but without success.[31] Eventually, Nicolas Fabri de Peiresc was able to obtain a copy, possibly through his Jewish collaborator Salomon Azubi.[32]

28 See Moshe Lazar, "The Judaeo-Spanish Translations of the Bible," *Sefunot* 8 (1964): 335–375, on 344 (in Hebrew).

29 Yaari, *Ha-defus ha-ʿaravi*, 102; no. 143. For additional bibliographic details about the Judaeo-Spanish and Judaeo-Greek translations, as well as a thorough analysis of the latter, see Julia Krivoruchko, "The Constantinople Pentateuch within the Context of Septuagint Studies," in Melvin K.H. Peters, ed., *XIII Congress of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Ljubljana* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007): 255–276.

30 Prestigious parchment copies are attested; see Aron Freimann, "Die Hebräischen Pergamentdrucke," *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* 15 (1901): 46–57, on 56. The edition was popular in Egypt, as illustrated by the numerous fragments in the Genizah, e.g. CUL, MSS T-S NS 214.74, 266.61, 267.5, 267.210, 269.32, etc.

31 See Henri Auguste Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: Imprimerie National, 1902), 1: iv–vii.

32 See Peter N. Miller, "Peiresc, the Levant and the Mediterranean," in Hamilton et al., *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005): 103–122, on 116. Raphelengius used the Constantinople edition in the preparation of his Arabic-Latin dictionary; see Hamilton, "Nam Tirones Sumus," 9. It was known to Erpenius and Edward Pococke used it to collate the Arabic portions of the Paris Polyglot (see below). On Peiresc's collaboration with Salomon Azubi, see Peter N. Miller, "The Mechanics of Christian-Jewish Intellectual Collaboration in Seventeenth-Century Provence: N.-C. Fabri

The provenance of the manuscript(s) used to produce the Polyglots is also unknown. Whereas Eliezer Soncino could have obtained the text of the Judaeo-Spanish, Judaeo-Greek, and Judaeo-Persian versions from local communities in Constantinople, it might have been more difficult for him to procure Saadiah's translation there.[33] In the Polyglots, the Judaeo-Arabic version is located right above the Hebrew text. Even a cursory examination reveals the rather late and phonetic character of the text, especially in regard to orthography, a sign that the source manuscript(s) must have been fairly contemporaneous to the printing project. The sporadic Tiberian vocalization was apparently added in the process of typesetting by an unknown collaborator and exhibits a distinctive North African pronunciation of Arabic.[34]

5.2 Pentateuchus Mosis Arabicè

The Pentateuchus Mosis Arabicè, printed in 1622, is of rather modest size in comparison to the Constantinople and Paris Polyglots, which it falls between chronologically. Erpenius, its initiator, was one of the foremost Arabists of his time.[35] After graduating the University of Leiden, where he had mastered Hebrew, Joseph Justus Scaliger encouraged him to expand his interests to Arabic. He went to England and began studying the language with William Bedwell; later he moved on to Paris, where he studied Arabic with Isaac Casaubon, Étienne Hubert, and Josephus Barbatus (Yūsuf ibn Abū Dhaqn). Soon after his return to the Netherlands in 1612, Erpenius was appointed

de Peiresc and Salomon Azubi," in Allison Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, eds., *Christian Hebraists, Jews, and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004): 78–101.

33 A contemporary of the printing project, Jacob ben Josef Ṭāwūs was active in Constantinople. See Walter Fischel, "The Bible in Persian Translation: A Contribution to the History of Bible Translations in Persia and India," *The Harvard Theological Review* 45 (1952): 3–45.

34 On the vocalization, see Joshua Blau, "Saadya Gaon's Pentateuch Translation in Light of an Early Eleventh-Century Egyptian Manuscript," *Leshonenu* 61 (1998): 111–130, there at 113, n10. As the examples, עֱלִי, מצִי, עֱלַם and וּבֵין demonstrate, the Judaeo-Arabic is vocalized as if it was Hebrew. The unknown collaborator seems not to have known Arabic at all and must thus have been trained to vocalize Hebrew texts.

35 A full-scale biography is not available. The fullest account is found in Wilhelmina Maria Cornelia Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1931): 59–118, but this is in need of additions and corrections in the light of recent research.

extraordinary professor of Oriental languages. As a supplement to his grammar book, *Rudimenta linguae Arabicae*, he produced a number of printed texts for the benefit of students and scholars. A New Testament in Arabic was issued in 1616, followed by an edition of the Pentateuch in 1622. To print them, Erpenius set up his own press, following the example of Savary de Brèves (see below).[36]

His *Pentateuchus Mosis Arabicè* was based on a manuscript that had been owned by Scaliger, today kept under the shelf mark Leiden, University Library, MS Or. 236. It represents later North African traditions of Judaeo-Arabic biblical translation, generally grouped under the term *shurūḥ* (sing. *sharḥ*).[37] The codex is undated; details such as the copyist or acquisition history are also lacking.[38] Furthermore, because *shurūḥ* were not usually committed to writing—and, when they were, only at a comparatively late date—it seems plausible that the manuscript was copied for Scaliger or an unknown previous owner. Erpenius transcribed the Judaeo-Arabic into Arabic script and amended many of the orthographic and linguistic features related to the late date of the text. In the preface, he declares his preference for this manuscript over Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, available to him in the Constantinople Polyglot, because the *sharḥ* is more literal and thus more appropriate for a didactic context.[39]

5.3 The Paris Polyglot

In 1606, a new protagonist was about to enter the scene: François Savary de Brèves, who served as French ambassador to the Sublime Porte between

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36 Raphelengius' Arabic fonts, used in his earlier works, had been sold to William Bedwell; see Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient,* 1: iv–vii. He refers to Savary de Brèves with admiration in the prefaces to his "Locmani sapientis fabulae" and to the *Pentateuchus Mosis Arabicè*.

37 Comp. the references in Chapter 3, n116.

38 The manuscript is written on an occidental paper with watermarks. It is therefore likely that the manuscript was copied not long before the print edition was produced. There is no supporting evidence in the manuscript itself that the text was written by a Moroccan Jew of the thirteenth century, as is frequently stated in the literature. A number of marginalia, introduced by the scribe as נ"א, refer to Saadiah's translation.

39 The educational goal of Erpenius' printing enterprise is illustrated in the preface, in which he stresses the importance of Arabic versions for understanding obscure Hebrew phrases. Another reason for his preference was surely the fact that an edition of Saadiah's *Tafsīr* was then being prepared under the auspices of Savary de Brèves (see below).

1591 and 1604.[40] He had arrived in Constantinople with his uncle and predecessor in office, Jacques de Savary-Lancosme, in 1584, and is well known for arranging the treaty between Henri IV and Sultan Aḥmed I. This effective diplomat was also one of the leading Arabic and Turkish scholars of his time, thanks to his twenty-year residence in the East.

At the conclusion of his diplomatic service in Constantinople, Savary de Brèves was dispatched by his king on a journey through the Levant, Egypt, and North Africa, to inspect the condition of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire.[41] He met the Maronite patriarch Joseph al-Rizzī at the Monastery of Qannobin[42] and was welcomed by the Coptic Pope Mark V in Cairo.[43] The journey determined his future: grieved by the inferior social and cultural status of Christians in the East, Savary de Brèves turned himself with zeal to liberating them from the Muslim yoke. He believed that the first step of such

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40 This section is much indebted to Gerald Duverdier, "Les caractères de Savary de Brèves, les débuts de la typographie orientale et la présence française au Levant au 17e siècle," in *L'Art du livre à l'Imprimerie nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1973): 68–87; idem, "Les impressions orientales en Europe et le Liban," in Camille Aboussouan, ed., *Le Livre et le Liban*, 157–173.

41 His journey is well documented. The captain's log, by François Arnaud, is preserved in Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 19896. Both of his secretaries, Jehan Vuiot de Baron and Jacques du Castel, left descriptions of the expedition, but only du Castel's was later published (*Relation Des Voyages de M. de Brèves, Tant en Grece, Terre-Saincte, et Ægypte, qu'aux Royaumes de Tunis & Arger. Ensemble un Traicte Faict l'an 1604, entre le Roy Henry le Grand & l'empereur des Turcs et Trois Discours du dit Sieur. Le tout Recueilly par le S*[*Ieur*] *D*[*u*] *C*[*astel*] [(Paris: N. Gasse, 1628].). The diplomat also refers to it in a number of letters.

42 His stay in Qannobin is described in *Relation des Voyages*, 45. He met not only the Patriarch but also George Amira, who had published a *Grammatica Syriaca* at the press of Giaccobo Luna in Rome in 1596, and Sarkīs al-Rizzī, brother of the Patriarch and later archbishop of Damascus. Sarkīs was associated with the printing of the famous Quzhaya Psalter in 1610 and later headed the committee in charge of producing an Arabic Bible at the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* in Rome; see below.

43 Cairo and the negotiations with the Coptic Pope Mark V were at the core of the entire enterprise. He stayed there from September 1605 to March 1606, but the negotiations are referred to only briefly in the *Relation des Voyages*. In a letter to Cardinal du Perron he writes: "*Je me résous d'avoir vu le Grand Caire pour avoir eu l'occasion de procurer l'union de la nation Cofte à la croire de l'église romaine. J'en ay eu de bonnes arres et pense avoir avancé beaucoup en ce sujet. Le Patriarche de ceste nation écrit à sa Sainteté et au Roy avec promesses de vivre d'ici en avant l'obéissance d'icelle*" (Paris, BnF, MS Fr. Dupuy 194, fol. 180). The confession of faith, which was transmitted to the Roman authorities through the French consul Gabriel Fernoulx, furnishes important additional details about de Brèves' stay in Cairo. See Basilio Cattan, "La chiesa copta nel secolo XVII: Documenti inediti," *Bessarione* 34 (1918): 133–61.

liberation would involve the union of the Eastern Churches with the papacy, which could be effected by the establishment of a press to publish missionary texts. This *haute entreprise*, as he called it in his letters, would also supply European Arabists with much-needed textbooks and thereby further Oriental studies. With this end in mind, Savary de Brèves actively pursued the raw material for his enterprise: manuscripts.

After a short respite of home leave in late 1606 and early 1607, Savary de Brèves was dispatched to Rome in the diplomatic service once more. During his first years in Rome, he took his first steps towards the establishment of a printing press, the *Typographia Savariana*. He began by recruiting collaborators: Gabriel Sionita (Jibrīl al-Ṣaḥyūnī) and Vittorio Scialac Accurensis (Naṣr Allāh Shalaq al-ʿAqūrī) from the Maronite College, Ḥusain, a Turk from Buda,[44] and the printer Stefano Paolino, who had previously worked for Raimondi. He arranged the cutting of Arabic and Syriac type and compiled an Arabic-Italian-Latin dictionary (the *Calpin Arabesque*) to facilitate the projected translation enterprise.[45] The first work he printed, in 1613, was an Arabic translation of Cardinal Bellarmine's *Doctrina Christiana*.[46] A year later, he issued two edi-

44 On Ḥusain, see Jones, "Learning Arabic," 120–123.

45 "Je vous veux entretenir d'une envie grande que j'ai de rendre les langues arabicque et turquesque familières parmi nous, si j'étais aidé du roi ou de quelque autres personnes qui voulussent faire la dépense. J'ai auprès de moi un Turc que vous avez connu qui parle les susdites trois langues et écrit merveilleusement bien icelles. Il sait maintenant notre langue française et entend assez bien le latin. Je puis en recouvrer deux ou trois autres des prisons de Malte ou de celles de Monsieur le grand duc. J'ai retiré chez moi deux chrétiens maronites, de ceux que vivent dans le Mont Liban et qui par conséquent savent la langue arabique avec leur langue paternelle. Ils ont fait leurs études en cette ville dans un collège que les défunts saints Pères les Papes ont fondé à cet effet de façon qu'ils soient passés docteurs en philosophie et théologie. [...] J'ai aussi eu soin depuis que je suis ici d'apprendre le moyen de faire imprimer des livres des caractères desquelles les dites langues se forment. J'ai dépensé jusqu'à cette heure plus de deux mil écus pour en venir à bout, ce qui m'a réussi" (letter to Jacques Auguste de Thou, November 27, 1611; Paris, BnF, MS Fr. Dupuy 812, fol. 195); "J'attendray la réponse de ce que je vous ai écrit sur l'établissement des langues orientales et principalement de l'Arabesque et de la Chaldéenne. J'ay trois ou quatre hommes avec moi capables de l'intelligence d'y celles et fait faire des lettres pour imprimer" (letter to Jacques Auguste de Thou, January 22, 1612; Paris, BnF, MS Fr. Dupuy 812, fol. 107). To the best of my knowledge, the *Calpin arabesque* has not survived.

46 Similar to the approach of the Medici Oriental Press, and probably modeled on its example, a bilingual edition followed in 1619: Gabriel Sionita and Vittorio Scialac and Gabriel Sionita, eds., *Doctrina Christiana: Illustrissimi & Reuerendiss. D.D. Roberti S.R.E. Card. Bellarmini, Nunc Primùm ex Italico Idiomate in Arabicum, Iussu S.D.N. Pauli V. Pont. Max.*

tions of an Arabic Psalter, the first in Arabic alone and the second with Latin translation in a facing column. The preface states that Savary de Brèves had secured the manuscript for this edition in Jerusalem during his expedition.[47]

The book, however, was only a trial run for a much larger project. In a letter dated 15 August, 1612, and addressed to his cousin-in-law and long-time correspondent Jacques Auguste de Thou, president of the Paris *parlement* and custodian at the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, Savary de Brèves laid forth the full extent of his ambitions: "Le Vieux et le Nouvel Testament et quelque Psaumes de David en langues arabesques, traduits en nostre langue latine et imprimés en l'une et l'autre caractère, seront bien venus de nos docteurs." De Thou embraced the printing of a complete Arabic Bible enthusiastically and offered his patronage for the project, but advised that it begin with the Pentateuch. Savary de Brèves states: "Monsieur, je vous supplie trouvez bon que j'apprenne de vous si le Vieux et le Nouveau Testament et les Psaumes de David en langues arabesque et chaldée, traduits en notre langue latine et imprimés en l'un et l'autre caractère seront bien reçus de nos doctes et si semblables livres se pourraient débiter. J'ai moyen de satisfaire à cette curiosité là."[48]

Although Jacques Auguste de Thou initially demurred because of time constraints and cost, the project was eventually initiated and took shape rapidly. Sionita began by editing the manuscript now known as Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 1. The codex contains an almost full Old Testament, arranged according to the Coptic canon, but lacks the book of Ruth. There are multiple colophons, ranging from Ramaḍān 992 to Muḥarram 993 AH, which correspond to the period between September 1584 and January 1585 CE. It was copied in Ḥārat al-Zuwayla, Cairo.[49]

Translata per Victorium Scialat Accurensem, & Gabrielem Sionitam Edeniensem, Maronitas e Monte Libano, Philosophiae, ac Sacra Theologiae Professores (Rome: Ex typographia Savariana. Excudebat Stephanus Paulinus, 1619). I have been able to consult only the bilingual edition.

47 Vittorio Scialac and Gabriel Sionita, eds., *Dauidis Regis et Prophetae Psalmi* (Rome: Ex Typographia Savariana. Excudebat Stephanus Paulinus, 1619). The preface is reprinted in Josée Balagna Coustou, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident: XVI^e^, XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1984), 16. Vaccari conjectured that the manuscript was sent to Rome by the patriarch of Qannobin, Sarkīs al-Rizzī (the brother of Michael al-Rizzī and uncle of his namesake Sarkīs and the former patriarch Joseph) and is today catalogued as Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 584; see Alberto Vaccari, "I Caratteri Arabi della 'Typographia Savariana,'" *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 10 (1923–25): 37–47.

48 Savary de Brèves to de Thou, Sept. 15, 1612; Paris, BnF, MS Fr. Dupuy 812, fol. 237.

49 For details, see Appendices, Inventory of Manuscripts.

In fact, the manuscript contains many editorial notes in Sionita's hand, marking lacunae and indicating chapter and verse divisions.[50] The formulaic *incipits* and *excipits* of each biblical book were copied over in the printed text. It stands to reason that Savary de Brèves acquired the manuscript used, like that for the Psalms of 1614, during his expedition. Details of the actual acquisition are not known, but it may be assumed that it took place in Cairo. The manuscript had been produced there two decades earlier and must have come to Savary de Brèves' attention during his travels.[51] It was well suited for the project, because it contained almost the entire Old Testament. In April 1613, the diplomat wrote de Thou about the progress of the work: "Je suivrai vos louable conseils et ferai travailler aux versions du Vieux et Nouveau Testament le plus diligemment qu'il me sera possible. Mais comme je vous ai ja mandé cela ne pourra pas être fait d'une couple d'années pourvu que je puisse garder avec moi l'un des pères maronites. Le reste se pourra finir en France."[52]

In the meantime, Savary de Brèves had been informed that his service in Rome was about to be terminated. He was recalled to France by the queen mother Marie de' Medici to supervise the education of her younger son Gaston, Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIII. By June 1613, however, the book of Genesis had been completed; it seems that Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, too, was ready in its entirety before he departed for Paris.[53]

50 E.g. Gen 19:22–20:2 and Gen 45:17–46:7 are marked by Sionita as missing from the manuscript; Lev 9:12 ff. is noted as being written twice due to an error by the scribe. Sionita indicated the chapter divisions in Latin on the outer margins and in Arabic on the inner margin.

51 In a letter to de Thou, he emphasizes that Egypt is a source for reliable manuscripts of the Arabic Bible: "Il faudroit faire venir d'Egypte des livres qui eussent le texte beau" (Feb. 17, 1613; Paris, BnF, MS Fr. Dupuy 812, fol. 255).

52 Ibid., fol. 260.

53 Savary de Brèves to de Thou, Jun. 9, 1613: "Les pères maronites travaillent aux cinq livres de Moise, la Genèse est déjà faite" (Paris, BnF, MS Fr. Dupuy 812, fol. 265); Aug. 3, 1613: "Pour ce qui est du Vieux Testament j'espère bien avant que je parte d'ici qu'il sera traduit, mais non imprimé. Ce sera à mon retour par delà si Dieu plait" (ibid., fols. 255–257). The most valuable evidence that the Pentateuch had already been completed in Rome, however, is found in Guy Michel Le Jay's later accusations against Sionita, preserved under the title "Raisons de Sr. Le Jay contre le Sr. Gabriel pour la traduction de la Bible Arabique" (Paris, BnF, MS Fr. 18600). He claims that Sionita cannot be credited with having compiled the entire edition of the Arabic Bible, inasmuch as the edition of the Pentateuch in Arabic was already complete when he arrived in Paris.

Savary de Brèves returned to Paris in 1614 bringing with him not only the printing press, fonts, and manuscripts, but also his collaborators, Gabriel Sionita, Ḥusain of Buda, and Stefano Paolino. Vittorio Scialac Accurensis had been replaced by Johannes Hesronita (Yuḥanna al-Ḥaṣrūnī), another alumnus of the Maronite College.[54] The press was installed in the *Collège des Lombards*. Even though he had not been able to secure the financial means for a *Collège Polyglotte des Langues Orientales*,[55] which he had projected to serve as an academic institution to carry out the vast task of editing and translating, the work on MS Ar. 1 resumed as a result of Cardinal du Perron's decision to reprint the Antwerp Polyglot. The Cardinal had been Savary de Brèves' predecessor as ambassador in Rome and was especially interested in Arabic printing.[56] The new work was to include Oriental versions as well, perceived as of utmost value for the clarification of many unclear passages in the Scriptures.[57] In a

54 Scialac would dedicate himself to the compilation of Arabic grammars at the Maronite College: Vittorio Scialac Accurensis, *Introductio ad Grammaticam Arabicam* (Rome: Excudebat Stephanus Paulinus, 1622); idem, *Totum Arabicum Alphabetum, ad unam Tabellam cum suis Vocalibus et Signis, Facilitatis Causa, Reductum* (Rome: Apud Stephanum Paulinum, 1624).

55 Savary de Brèves to de Thou, Nov. 27, 1611: "Moyennant cela j'ai un moyen de faire un collège d'un bon nombre de jeunes gens qui pourraient étudier les dites langues. J'ai aussi eu soin depuis que je suis ici d'apprendre le moyen de faire imprimer des livres des caractères desquels les dites langues se forment. J'ai dépensé jusqu'à cette heure plus de deux mil écus pour venir à bout ce qui m'a réussi, de façon que si vous pouviez induire Sa Majesté à vouloir fonder un collège des dites langues, l'université de Paris en recevrait de l'honneur et le christianisme de l'utile, car par ce moyen nous aurions la communication de toutes les sciences de ces trois nations" (Paris, BnF, MS Fr. Dupuy 812, fol. 195). Additional documents are found in Henri Auguste Omont, "Projet d'un Collège Oriental a Paris au début du règne de Louis XIII," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 22 (1895): 123–127. Sionita and Hesronita, however, received an annual pension by royal order. The grant is published in Auguste Joseph Bernard, *Antoine Vitré et les caractères orientaux de la Bible polyglotte de Paris. Origines et vicissitudes des premiers caractères orientaux introduits en France avec un specimen de ces caractères* (Paris: Dumoulin, 1857): 5. In addition, Sionita held the chair of Arabic at the *Collège Royal*, replacing Etienne Hubert (1568–1614).

56 As noted by Raimondi in the preface to his *Liber Tasriphi*.

57 "Adhuc Sacrorum scriptorium locos tenebris quibusdam, ac fulgine involutos, aut verborum ambiguitate circumseptos, quibus quasi ambagibus, tortuosisque nexibus doctorum ingenia detinentur, in hac eadem lingua claros, immo luce meridiana clariores deprehendes" (Gabriel Sionita and Jean Hesronita, *Grammatica Arabica Maronitarum* [Paris: Ex Typographia Savariana, excudebat Hieronymus Blageart, 1616], sig. aii^{r}–aii^{v}). See a similar statement by de Thou in Pierre des Maizeaux, ed., *Scaligerana, Thuana, Perroniana,*

letter dated May 3, 1615, de Thou informed Sebastian Tengnagel, the librarian of the Imperial Library in Vienna: “Librarii nostri novam Bibliorum editionem parant, cui post Hispanam et ultimam Antverpianam, meliorem paraphrasin Chaldaicam sive Syriacam et Arabicam versionem in Vetus et Novum Testamentum addent cum inpretatione Latina peculiari. Illustrissimus Cardinalis Perronus opus urget et vicaria opera nostra ad eam rem ubitur.”[58]

Although du Perron was granted permission to print by the General Assembly of French Clergy in 1616, he was still short another essential element: funding. In consequence, the work on the Arabic Bible came to a standstill. The decision by Stefano Paolino, Raimondi’s former printer, to return to Rome was another great loss.[59] The situation worsened further when de Thou, an ardent promoter of the project from the outset, died in 1617, followed by Cardinal du Perron a year later. Because of his ties to Marie de’ Medici, Savary de Brèves fell from political favor after the assassination of the chief minister Concini (the result of a plot organized by Louis XIII). He was forced to retire from public life and thereafter lived quietly until his death in 1627; the press effectively ceased operations in 1618.[60] Within two years, the project had lost all its patrons. Sionita and Hesronita applied themselves to different tasks. In 1616 they published an Arabic grammar, followed by a Latin translation of

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Pithoenana, et Colomesiana (Amsterdam: chez Covens & Mortier, 1740: 94). For a general survey, see Hartmut Bobzin, “Vom Sinn des Arabischstudiums.”

58 “Our librarians are currently preparing a new edition of the Bible, which will feature the Chaldaic paraphrases more accurately than the edition of Alcalá and that of Antwerp. It will also append the Syriac and Arabic versions of the Old and New Testament, with Latin translations. Cardinal du Perron presses the printing and has appointed me to run that project” (published in Petrus Lambeck, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi* [Vienna: Typis Joannis Christophori Cosmerovii, 1665–1679]: 160).

59 Upon his return to Rome, Paolino was employed at the press of the Maronite College and later at that of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. With some justice, he might be called the grand master of Semitic printing and serves as the personal link among all the major print editions of the Arabic Bible.

60 Erpenius furnishes evidence of his mental derangement after Concini’s assassination in a letter to Sebastian Tengnagel, dated Leiden, Feb. 1, 1621; “Dominus de Bréves animum omnino ab illis literis abiecit, me quidquam praestat aut praestiturus est. Vidi nuper cum in Gallia essem hominem. Sed comperi eum ita irritatum et offensum capitie diminutione, ut frustra ego futuros iudicem literatos, qui in re literaria, aliquid porro ab eo volent exspectare. D. Sansium, quod in aula esset semel atque iterum frustra domi eius quaesivi. Nec librorum eius catalogum hactenus nancisci potui” (Vienna, ÖNB, MS 9737s, fol. 220; quoted in Jones, “Learning Arabic,” 35–36.

Raimondi's *Geographia Nubiensis* in 1619.[61] Sionita continued to issue books on his own initiative after Hesronita returned to Lebanon in 1622.[62]

The work on MS Ar. 1 resumed in March 1628, after the Parisian advocate Guy Michel Le Jay offered financial support to complete the Polyglot project. On the whole, as the following list of collaborators shows, the resumption marked a rather drastic rupture from the earlier stages. Antoine Vitré was made chief printer and told to acquire Savary de Brèves' manuscripts and fonts.[63] Philippe d'Aquin was charged with improving the Hebrew and Aramaic sections already printed in the Antwerp Polyglot. Jean Morin was commissioned to edit the Samaritan Pentateuch, including its Targum.[64] Other collaborators

61 *Geographia Nubiensis, id Est Accuratissima Totius Orbis in Septem Climata Divisi Descriptio, Continens Præsertim Exactam Universæ Asiæ Et Africæ Explicationem. Recens Ex Arabico in Latinum Versa a Gabriele Sionita et Joanne Hesronita* (Paris: H. Blageart, 1619); Sionita and Hesronita, *Grammatica Arabica Maronitarum.* The latter was intended to have five volumes, but only the first, on pronunciation, appeared.

62 Gabriel Sionita, *Liber Psalmorum Dauidis Regis et Prophetæ ex Idiomate Syro in Latinum translatus* (Paris: Antoine Vitré, 1625); idem, *Veteris Philosophi Syri de Sapientia Divina Poëma Aenigmaticum* (Paris: Antoine Vitré, 1628). On Hesronita's return, see the documents published in Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels*, 224 n30 and 225 n31.

63 As seen above, Vitré had acquired some experience in Semitic printing through the publication of Sionita's works in 1625 and 1628. He had also printed Andre Du Ryer's *Rudimenta Grammatices Linguæ Turcicæ* (Paris: Antoine Vitré, 1630). At the urging of Cardinal Richelieu, he purchased the types and manuscripts from de Brèves' heirs in 1632. There is some evidence, however, that they remained in Sionita's possession until his imprisonment in 1640. He had been reluctant to deliver them to the printer, who had to resort to royal intervention and the assistance of the bailiff Boissy; see Aboussouan, *Le Livre*, 210–211. There are two different inventories of Savary de Brèves' manuscripts, preserved in Paris, BnF, MSS Fr. 15528 and Fr. Dupuy 673, fols. 131–132. The first was published as an appendix to Bernard, *Antoine Vitré*. However, none of them seems to be complete. Sionita was allowed to retain the manuscript he was working on, i.e., Paris, MS BnF, Ar. 1. Thus, unlike the other manuscripts, it was not deposited in Richelieu's library. That appears to be why it reached the BnF from the Colbert collection. Be this as it may, the history of the Savary de Brèves collection of manuscripts deserves further research.

64 Jean Morin de Blois (1591–1650) was a convert from Protestantism. The manuscripts had been purchased by Pietro della Valle in Damascus in 1616 and procured for the Oratory by Harley de Sancy, Savary de Brèves' successor as ambassador to the Sublime Porte, in 1623. The Pentateuch manuscript is MS B, in August Freiherr von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1914). It was Cardinal de Bérulle who advised its publication. Like Jean Morin, he considered the Samaritan Pentateuch to be older than the Masoretic text and free of "rabbinic interpolations." The variant readings were published separately in Paris in 1657. On Morin, see Paul Auvray, "Jean Morin (1591–1659)," *Revue Biblique* 66 (1959): 397–414.

were Jérôme Parent, Godefroy Hermant, Jean Aubert, and Jean Tarin. Gabriel Sionita, the only remaining original participant, received the much larger mandate of preparing the Old and the New Testaments in both Syriac and Arabic, including their translation into Latin.

By the end of the following year, the first four volumes, with the Pentateuch from the Antwerp Polyglot, rolled off the press. The Masoretic text, the Targum, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate were reproduced with few changes. The fifth volume, containing the New Testament, was printed in 1630–1633. The Syriac version had been part of the Antwerp Polyglot; Sionita supplied the Arabic text, based on Raimondi's edition and Latin translation of 1592 with minor corrections. The sixth volume appeared in 1632, with the Peshiṭta and a translation on the left-hand pages and the Arabic text with Latin on the right-hand pages.[65] Morin's Samaritan versions are at the bottom of the page, in Hebrew and Aramaic, with a single Latin translation for both.

The seventh to the ninth volumes of the Old Testament, containing the Old Testament (except Esther) with some of the apocrypha in Syriac and Arabic, remained the sole responsibility of Sionita. Lacking a collaborator, however, he was overwhelmed by the colossal task. Although volume eight was printed in 1635, neither of other volumes was even close to completion five years later. Consequently, Sionita was required to justify the delay that represented an increasingly severe financial risk for the entire project.[66] Le Jay, complying

65 This layout was determined by de Thou and Savary de Brèves: "J'en ai une en arabesque et en recouvrerai une en chaldée. Nous les affronterons?" (Paris, BnF, MS Fr. Dupuy 812, fol. 265, dated June 9, 1613). The manuscript of the Peshiṭta was furnished by Johannes Hesronita, who copied it himself from a *Vorlage* that had been brought to Italy by Sarkīs al-Rizzī. It is preserved as Paris, BnF, MS Syr. 6 and bears the *siglum* 17a6 in the standard Leiden edition.

66 In a letter to Le Jay, Sionita stressed the technical impossibility of speeding up the preparation of the text: "Qu'on n'a jamais imprimé qu'une forme ou demi-feuille par jour, que son ouvrage contient deux mille six cents vingt sept formes, qu'en l'année il n'y a que deux cents soixante et sept jours ouvrables; conséquemment pour imprimer deux mille six cents vingt sept formes, il faut l'espace de huit années entières. Or, si pour la seule impression il fallu employer huit années, sans considérer le temps pour mettre les voyelles et faire les versions, donc le Sieur Le Jay a grand tort de dire que le dit de Sion pouvait achever l'ouvrage en trois ou quatre ans" (Paris, Archives du Collège de France, C–XII, MS Sionite 1). In the same letter, he also compared his work to that of his predecessors of the Alcala and Antwerp Polyglots: "N'a été fait qu'en quinze années, encore que sept grand personnages y furent employés. A celle d'Anvers, quatre personnes e grand mérite y employèrent douze années, bien que dans l'une et l'autre il n'y a rien qui n'eut été imprimé. Le grec à Venise et l'hébreu à Pesaro et Mantoue. Si ces personnages qui étaient en grand nombre et de très grande érudition ont employé des douze et quinze années pour copier ce qu'ils avaient devant eux, quel sujet a le dit Le Jay de sa plaindre que le dit de Sion seul employé treize années à mettre au net deux textes qui n'avaient jamais été

with Cardinal Richelieu's instructions, had him imprisoned at Vincennes in 1640. Sionita was released after three months on condition that he finish editing the remaining volumes by the next Easter. Meanwhile, plans were made to replace him. Abraham Ecchellensis (Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī), another alumnus of the Maronite college and then serving as the director of the rival Arabic Bible project at the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (see below), was brought to Paris during Sionita's imprisonment in 1640. He completed work on Ruth and 2 Maccabees, but returned to Rome a year later. The last two volumes, making a total of nine, were printed in 1642 and 1645.

The project bankrupted Le Jay. Earlier, Cardinal Richelieu had offered to bear the printing costs on condition that the Polyglot be published under his name, but Le Jay declined. The Cardinal now commissioned a treatise to point out the errors and inaccuracies of the completed Polyglot, and a number of pamphleteers attacked Le Jay. When English booksellers offered to take 600 copies of the entire multivolume set at half price, he declined. The Paris

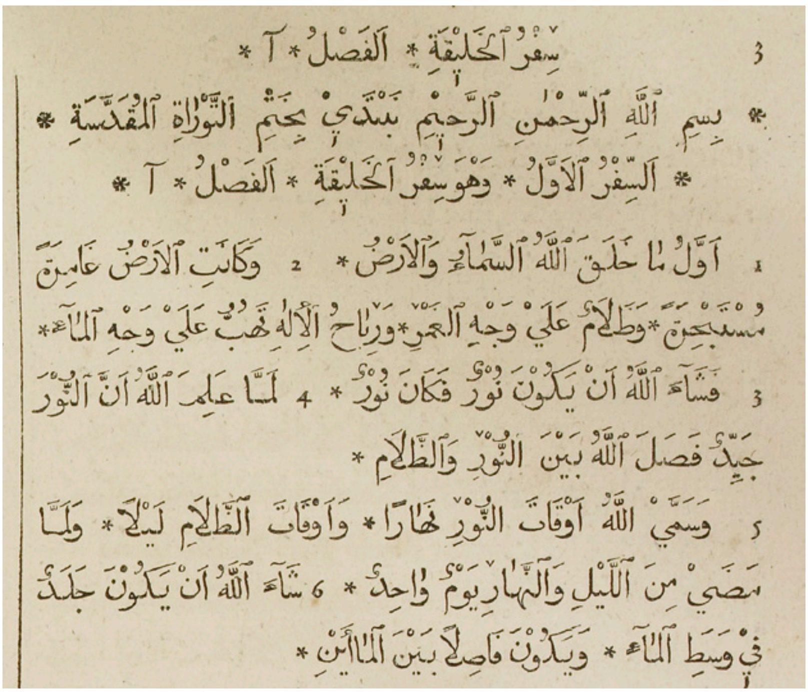

سفر الخليقة * الفصل * آ * 3
* بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نبتدي بختم التوراة المقدسة *
* السفر الاول * وهو سفر الخليقة * الفصل * آ *
1 اول ما خلق الله السماء والارض * 2 وكانت الارض غامرة
مستبحرة * وظلام علي وجه الغمر * ورياح الاله تهب علي وجه الماء *
3 فشاء الله ان يكون نور فكان نور * 4 لما علم الله ان النور
جيد فصل الله بين النور والظلام *
5 وسمي الله اوقات النور نهارا * واوقات الظلام ليلا * ولما
مضي من الليل والنهار يوم واحد * 6 شاء الله ان يكون جلد
في وسط الماء * ويكون فاصلا بين المائين *

FIGURE 4 *Paris Polyglot.*

imprimés, pour en faire les versions tout de nouveau, et leur mettre les voyelles, accents, et tous autres point nécessaires à la lecture et intelligence, labeur qui équivolle à celui des Massorètes en l'hébreu?"

Polyglot, therefore, did not sell well and many copies were pulped. In any case, it was soon overshadowed by the London Polyglot (1653–57).

5.4 The London Polyglot

The London Polyglot (1652–57), dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, was the last and greatest of the Polyglots.[67] This edition, initiated and supervised by Brian Walton, Bishop of Chester, outdid its forerunners in the number of texts included. In addition to the contents of its Parisian predecessor, on which it is clearly modeled, it contains the Syriac of Esther and of several apocryphal books, Persian versions of the Pentateuch and the Gospels, and Psalms and the New Testament in Ethiopic. All these texts were accompanied by Latin translations. The first volume also contained a learned introduction on biblical versions by Walton; maps and descriptions of the Holy Land; plans of the Temple; and treatises on Hebrew coins, weights and measures, on the origin of language, and on the alphabet. As a supplement to the biblical texts, two additions volumes were devoted to Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*.[68] The London Polyglot is the most influential Polyglot Bible ever printed. For the first time ever, and in a lasting testament to seventeenth-century typography, all the versions were displayed side by side on the same page. The Arabic portions, however, simply reproduced the text of the Paris Polyglot, with minor changes.[69] In the sixth volume, which contained a critical apparatus, Edward Pococke furnished a list of variant readings of Saadiah's *Tafsīr* as compared to the Constantinople Polyglot and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Poc. 395–396.[70]

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67 On the London Polyglot, see G.T. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996): 202–210; Peter N. Miller, "The 'Antiquarianization' of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62 (2001): 463–482.

68 On the *Lexicon Heptaglotton,* see H.T. Norris, "Edmund Castell and his Lexicon Heptaglotton," in Russell, ed., *The "Arabick" Interest*, 70–87.

69 Since there were no Arabic types in England, they had to be cut specially for the Arabic portions of the Polyglot. The types were modeled on those of Savary de Brèves; see Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome*, 202–210.

70 An ownership note on fol. 244v indicates that the latter codex came into the possession of Abraham Dīqnīs (known from other Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts in the Bodleian Library) in 1612. In addition, a large number of manuscripts that came from the family library of Maimonides' descendents were bequeathed by Dīqnīs to the Jewish community of Aleppo. Edward Pococke acquired the codices there and brought them to Oxford. See Menahem Ben-Sasson, "The 'Libraries' of the Maimonides Family between Cairo and

The margins of the manuscript contain notes in his hand. Readings of the Paris and Constantinople Polyglots are introduced by *P* and *C* (or *Const*), respectively. The Arabic text also exists in several reprints and a number of manuscripts.[71]

5.5 Biblia Sacra Arabica (1671–73)

In 1622, the same year Erpenius' *Pentateuchus Mosis Arabicè* appeared, Pope Gregory XV instituted the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* in Rome and assigned it general supervision of all missionary activity. Four years later, the *Congregatio* received a printing press for Eastern languages. It reused Granjon's types from the *Typographia Medicea* and was placed under the direction of Stefano Paolino, a disciple of Raimondi's and former chief printer for Savary de Brèves.[72] It was intended to serve the twofold purpose of providing missionaries with alphabets, grammar books, and dictionaries so they could prepare themselves for work with the Eastern Churches, and supplying those Churches with liturgical and doctrinal materials in their own vernaculars.

At the first meeting of its editorial board, in 1622, Tommaso Obicini of Novara suggested the production of an Arabic Bible.[73] He had learned from

Aleppo," in Yom-Tov Assis, Miriam Frenkel, and Yaron Harel, eds., *The Jews of Aleppo: Their History and Culture* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2009): 51–105, esp. 80 (in Hebrew). It was probably Jacob Roman, who accompanied Pococke to Aleppo, who aroused his interest in Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts, see Miller, "The 'Antiquarianization.' "

71 The first four chapters of Genesis were reprinted by Georg Otho in *Palaestra linguarum Orientalium, hoc est, Quatuor primorum capitum Geneseos* (Frankfurt a.M.: Impensis Friderici Knochii, 1702). Joseph Dacre Carlyle, *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments in the Arabic Language* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Hodgson, 1811), is a reprint of the Arabic portions for Anglican missionaries. There is a manuscript copy in Prague, Jewish Museum, MS 356. Two identical copies of the separate text of Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, in which the Arabic was supplemented with an interlinear translation into Malaysian, are found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Ar. 233 and Cambridge, University Library, MS Or. 193. The manuscripts were produced by the same scribe, have an identical page layout, and bear the same date (1680).

72 Paolini's unsuccessful attempt to obtain Savary de Brèves' more elegant Arabic fonts is described by Duverdier, "Les caractères de Savary de Brèves."

73 Obicini (1548–1632) was the abbot of the Franciscan convent in Aleppo and later *custos* of the Holy Land. On his return to Rome, in 1621, he founded the Collegio de S. Pietro, in Montorio, where he taught Arabic to Franciscan missionaries. See A. Kleinhans, "De collaboratoribus franciscanis in Biblica arabicis a. 1671 editis," *Antonianum* 6 (1929): 369–386; Giovanni-Claudio Bottini, "Tommaso Obicini (1548–1632): Custos of the Holy Land and Orientalist," in Anthony O'Mahony, *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land* (London:

Meletius Karma, Archbishop of Aleppo, that the Christian communities of Syria were in great need of such a volume.[74] Although Obicini's plan was approved unanimously, disagreements arose as to the best way to realize it. Because Erpenius was close to completing an Arabic Pentateuch, the papal nuncio in Belgium was asked to prevent the publication of that work and to try to enlist his efforts and expertise for the Roman project.[75] Although Erpenius agreed, the collaboration did not materialize. In the meantime, the Maronite archbishop of Damascus, Sarkīs al-Rizzī, who was then visiting the Maronite College, was named to head a translation commission, whose other members were Vittorio Scialac Accurensis, formerly employed by Savary de Brèves, Hilarion Rancati, Tommaso Obicini of Novara, the initiator of the project, and Filippo Guadagnolo.

The first years of the project were marked by the members' continuing disagreements about editorial procedure. Some of them maintained that existing manuscripts of biblical books in Arabic, in the Vatican and Florentine libraries, as well as the Maronite College, should be consulted and used as the basis for an eclectic edition harmonized with the Vulgate and the Hebrew. In particular, Sarkīs al-Rizzī focused on a comprehensive review of the manuscripts, of which Vatican, BAV, MSS Ar. 467–468, which had been brought to Europe by Giovanni Battista Eliano, were the most prominent.[76] Others claimed that

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Scorpion Cavendish, 1995): 97–101. Obicini edited Bar Shināyā's Syro-Arabic dictionary with a Latin translation—*Thesaurus Arabico-Syro-Latinus* (1636)—at the press of the *Congregatio;* see McCollum, "Prolegomena to a New Edition." He also worked on various Copto-Arabic grammars and lexicographical treatises found in Vatican, BAV, MS Cop. 71. See Arnold van Lantschoot, *Un Précurseur d'Athanase Kircher: Thomas Obicini et la scala Vat. copte 71* (Louvain: Bureaux du Muséon, 1948).

74 On Meletius and his interest in an Arabic Bible, see Carsten-Michael Walbiner, " 'Und um Jesu willen, schickt sie nicht ungebunden!' Die Bemühungen des Meletius Karma (1572–1635) um den Druck Arabischer Bücher in Rom," in Rifaat Y. Ebied and Herman G.B. Teule, eds., *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage* (Leuven and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004): 163–175; and Hilary Kilpatrick, "Meletius Karmah's Specimen Translation of Genesis 1–5," in Sara Binay and Stefan Leder, eds., *Linguistic and Cultural Aspects of Arabic Bible Translations* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2012): 63–73. Meletius' request for assistance from the Roman authorities is also mentioned by Francesco Ingoli, the secretary of the Congregatio, in a document on the origin of its press, published by Willi Henkel, *Die Druckerei der Propaganda Fide: eine Dokumentation* (Munich: F. Schöningh., 1977): 42–43.

75 On this illustrative episode in the history of the Biblia Sacra Arabica, see J.D.M. Cornelissen, "Thomas Erpenius en de 'Propaganda,' " *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 8 (1927): 121–146.

76 For details and other manuscripts consulted, see Vaccari, "Una Bibbia araba"; idem, "I Caratteri Arabi." They include Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS Ar.-Karsh. 2, copied from Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 606 and copied by Sarkīs al-Rizzī around this time.

the Arabic versions available in manuscript should be revised according to the Codex Alexandrinus. Vittorio Scialac Accurensis favored an entirely new Arabic translation of the Vulgate.

Eventually, it was the first approach that was adopted. However, Vatican authorities insisted on a strict, word-to-word adherence to the text of the Vulgate. At the beginning of 1628, when the translation commission had reached the second book of Chronicles, doubts arose again about whether the draft produced would satisfy all the text-critical and theological requirements. As a result, Sarkīs al-Rizzī was asked to produce a literal retranslation of the Arabic draft into Latin, which he forwarded to Obicini and Johannes Hesronita, who had joined the editorial board at a later stage, for their scrutiny. These reviewers furnished lists of corrections and, with the approval of by the Vatican authorities, al-Rizzī amended his draft accordingly.[77] The last stage of improvements included the dispatch of translation examples, in the form of a separately printed book of Genesis, to Constantinople and Aleppo for further assessment.[78]

A corrected version of the Pentateuch had been achieved by the time Sarkīs al-Rizzī passed away in August 1638. He was replaced by Abraham Ecchellensis, who then was a scriptor at the Vatican Library. After Ecchellensis' departure for Paris (see above), however, the project again ground to a halt. What is more, the Vatican authorities again doubted the conformity of the edition with the Vulgate. Specimens of the book of Genesis were printed and dispatched for a second time. It would take another two decades before the corrections were incorporated, so that it was not until 1671–1673 that 1500 sets of the three volumes of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* eventually rolled off the press. After introductions in Latin and Arabic, the biblical texts are laid out in two columns,

77 The lists of addenda and corrigenda can still be found in the Archives of the Congregation; see Vaccari, "Una Bibbia araba," 99. Detailed references to the archival material that documents this painstaking procedure are found in Nikolaus Kowalsky, "Zur Vorgeschichte der arabischen Bibeluebersetzung der Propaganda von 1671," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 16 (1969): 268–274.

78 See Henkel, *Die Druckerei der Propaganda Fide*, 43. To the best of my knowledge, these proof copies did not survive. It is likely that the addressee in Constantinople was Patriarch Cyril Lucaris, who had exhibited interest in union with the Catholic Church. It is certain, however, that the Aleppo copy was sent to Melitius Karma. He expressed his strong disapproval of the version, because of its artificial and incomprehensible Arabic, and offered a list of corrections. What is more, he apologized for proposing an alternative translation, of which he completed only the first five chapters of Genesis. He returned this version to Rome in June 1633, where it is today found in the Archives of the Congregation, *Lettere di Lingua straniera dall'Ann 1631 sino al 1645*, vol. 180, fols. 67, 68, 70–72. His translation specimens are discussed by Kilpatrick, "Meletius Karmah's Specimen Translation."

with the Vulgate on the right and its Arabic translation on the left. In contrast to the previous editions, this Bible appears to have been accepted by the Oriental communities, as shown by the large number of manuscript copies of the work.[79] Furthermore, parts of it were reprinted on various occasions and its Arabic version served as the basis for several adaptations, such as Raphael al-Ṭūkhī's *Biblia Sacra in lingua Arabica* (Rome, 1752) and the Dominican missionary edition (Mosul, 1875–1878).[80]

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79 For a list, see Vollandt, "Che portono al ritorno."

80 On the reprints, see Thomas H. Darlow and Horace Frederick Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: The Bible House, 1903). Al-Ṭūkhī's version is described in *GCAL* 1: 97–98 as well as in Friedrich Schelling, "Ueber die arabische Bibelausgabe von 1752," *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur* 10 (1782): 154–164. For details on the Dominican missionary edition, *Biblia Sacra. Versio Arabica. Mausili Typis Fratum Praedicatorum*, see *GCAL* 1: 99–100.

CHAPTER 6

Summary

The historiography of biblical translation into Arabic, unlike the translation movement in ʿAbbāsid Baghdad, is in its infancy. Medieval scholarship about Arabic translations of the Scriptures—Jewish, Christian, and Muslim—continued in the Early Modern era in the printed editions and was eventually absorbed by biblical textual criticism, as part of the larger field of the history of biblical versions. Modern scholarship, as has been shown, doubted that the study of Arabic translations could provide insights into the Bible itself. After the early and influential attempts by Ignazio Guidi and Georg Graf to reconstitute the genre, scholarship stagnated in the twentieth century, and only recent years have seen something of a revival.

The previous chapters have shown that there is scant documentary evidence of the emergence of the biblical translation genre in Arabic in the first Islamic centuries. There is nothing in the writings of Christian scholars, such as the letter by Timothy I, Catholicos of the Church of the East between 780 and 823, or the rhymed canon of East-Syriac authors produced by Abdīshōʿ (d. 1318). The later inventory of Christian-Arabic writers, composed by the Coptic scholar Abū al-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (d. 1324), contains only a few sketchy references. By contrast, Muslim authors of the ʿAbbāsid period refer to the Arabic Bible repeatedly. Even though translations are cited primarily in polemic contexts, some authors do provide limited but valuable context. The aforementioned Mālik ibn Dīnār, al-Jāḥiẓ, and Ibn Qutayba demonstrate that Muslims became increasingly aware of Christian and Jewish activity in translating the Bible into Arabic. Roughly at the same time, manuscripts with sections of the Bible in Arabic started being produced by various denominations. This awareness peaked in al-Masūʿdī and Ibn al-Nadīm, who provided detailed bibliographical details about Jewish and Christian translators.

From the early decades of Islam, as we have seen, biblical narratives were passed down in an islamicized form by Muslims such as Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, Wahb ibn Munabbih, and Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. This genre became known as *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ/Isrāʾīliyāt* (Legends of the pre-Islamic Prophets and Notices of the Hebrews), and retold the lives of the Old Testament prophets and the Gospel account of Jesus. A few Muslim scholars had access to written Arabic versions of the Pentateuch as early as in the second half of the ninth century. This has some importance for the present study. It bears, for example, on the date of **Arab**$^{\text{Syr}}$**1**, which is analysed in depth in Part Two of this study. Although the

earliest dated manuscript of this version, Sinai, MS Ar. 2, was copied in 940, Ibn Qutayba's and al-Ṭabarī's citations prove that it was in existence during their lifetimes and available to them in Iraq. Equally, Ibn Ḥazm's use of Saadiah's *Tafsīr* in a recension strikingly similar to that employed by the Coptic Church suggests that copies in Arabic script must have been around at the beginning of the eleventh century. ʿAlī ibn Rabban's biblical quotations are not evidence of the date of **Arab^{Syr}2**, but rather of its translational context. As demonstrated above, the similarity between the two traditions hints at a shared provenance. Although they are not always identical, his quotations and the text of **Arab^{Syr}2** exhibit similar translation techniques that may be considered characteristic of East-Syriac biblical translations.

Although we cannot rule out the possibility that Jewish and Christian communities in the Arabian Peninsula expounded parts of the Bible in Arabic orally, manuscripts with biblical passages in Arabic are found on a large scale only beginning with the ninth century. The commission to writing of biblical translation into Arabic was surely fostered by the general tendency, from the rise of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate onwards, to write down oral traditions. In addition, it appears that the social changes that resulted from the ʿAbbāsid revolution (750) encouraged the composition and textualization of Arabic versions of the Bible.[1] There is no evidence of complete translations into Arabic in the Umayyad period. The account of ʿUmayr ibn Ṣaʿd al-Anṣārī's disputation with the West-Syriac Patriarch John Sedra indicates that only selected verses were translated, with the specific apologetic purpose of expounding Christian doctrine. Collections of proof-texts, which survived in a number of treatises, seem to have circulated separately and to have served as the raw material for similar disputations.

Under the Umayyads, the number of Muslims remained small—a ruling elite joined by comparatively few local converts. But there was a growing incentive to convert when the ʿAbbāsids eliminated the inferior status of the *mawālī* clients and promoted social equality for all Muslims, both Arabs and non-Arab converts. It may not be a coincidence that Bulliet's graph of conversions reaches the fifty-percent mark precisely in this period.[2] Although the practice emerged of extending state protection (Arab. *al-dhimma*) to the *ahl al-kitāb*, in return for payment of a poll tax (Arab. *al-jizya*), it is also true that regulations were introduced to restrict everyday interfaith intercourse.[3] These

1 As pointed out by Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic."

2 See Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam*.

3 See Arthur Stanley Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of ʿUmar* (London: Frank Cass, 1970); Antoine Fattal, *Le statut légal des*

prescriptions regarding non-Muslim subjects in the first ʿAbbāsid century had obvious implications for the Christian communities and their literature. The increased number of apologetic tracts, on the one hand, and the concerted effort to translate biblical books, on the other, reflect these communities' collective endeavors to produce texts in Arabic to be used for the external and internal defense of their own faith against the growing Muslim majority.

There is no corroboration of the existence of written translations before the rise of Islam or during its formative centuries. In the first stage, the communities that produced Arabic translations concentrated on the books that were central or significant for their internal affairs. Thus books used in a liturgical context (the Psalms and Pentateuch in Jewish communities, the Gospels among Christians), as well as those with popular appeal (Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus), are among the earliest attested in Arabic versions.

Given their arabicization from the eighth century onwards, the Melkite and East-Syriac communities were the first to produce translations. Although the Melkite translations focused on the Septuagint, there are also versions from a Syriac *Vorlage*, a result of this community's multilingual nature. Textual reliance on Syriac (or Christian Palestinian Aramaic) and Greek *Vorlagen* occurs side by side. The translations exhibit strong indications of their use in the liturgy, seen, for example, in the Violet fragment or the Palestinian Gospels in Arabic. In like manner, the Church of the East created a corpus of Arabic translations of key biblical books before the end of the ninth century. A comparison with early Melkite translations, however, demonstrates that the Church of the East had its own translation technique. First, the proximity between Syriac and Arabic allowed the selection of cognate roots and homophonic translation equivalents in the target language. In addition, the use of alternative renderings and interpretative textual expansions is a distinctive feature of East-Syriac translation technique.

Among their West-Syriac coreligionists, the effort to translate the Scriptures into Arabic was less concerted. In regard to the Pentateuch, at least, West-Syriac communities borrowed versions of different origins and adapted the several books according to their needs. A common type of manuscripts provided a complete Pentateuch by taking Genesis from Jewish (**Arab**^{Heb}**1a**) and Exodus and Numbers from East-Syriac (**Arab**^{Syr}**2**) sources. Leviticus and Deuteronomy were taken from a popular recension of al-Ḥārith's translation of the *Syro-Hexapla* (**Arab**^{Syr_Hex}**1b**). This approach is strikingly similar to that of the

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non-Musulmans en pays d'islam (Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1958); and Albrecht Noth, "Die 'Bedingungen 'Umars (aš-Šurūṭ al-ʿumariyya)' unter einem anderen Aspekt gelesen," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987): 290–315.

Coptic Church. The proclivity to integrate foreign traditions and adapt them to their own requirements is characteristic of both communities. Due to the comparatively late adoption of Arabic by the time the West-Syriac and Coptic communities, by the time they needed Arabic Bibles the Melkite Church and the Church of the East could already look back on long-established traditions. West-Syriac and Coptic scholars seemed to have preferred to employ existing translations. Similarly, there is no indication that Mozarabic communities produced their own Arabic version of the Pentateuch.

It is clear that communities employed multiple and complementary versions side by side, with no rivalry among them. The great variety, obvious to modern scholars from the sheer abundance of manuscripts and versions contained, was already noted by medieval authors (see Chapter 1). Thus there does not to have ever been a binding canon of translations. Nevertheless, some versions survive in many more exemplars than others, suggesting that each Church had its preferred and quasi-canonical version. For the Pentateuch, **Arab$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$2** enjoyed such a status in the Church of the East. Because there was no direct translation of the Pentateuch from the Septuagint, Melkites resorted to al-Ḥārith's translation of the *Syro-Hexapla*, as the many copies by Melkite scribes attest. No translation was granted a comparable status among the Syriac-Orthodox, Coptic, and Mozarabic communities. For the Copts, at least, Saadiah's *Tafsīr* in Arabic script enjoyed great popularity.

Nor did Arabic-speaking Christian communities have a closed canon of translated books. Some books, such as Judith and most of the historical books, remained untranslated until the fifteenth century.[4] Although it is not uncommon to find Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Latin manuscript traditions that contain or originally contained a full set of the biblical books, this is not the case with Arabic versions. Although scribes frequently joined related books in a single volume—e.g. the Pentateuch, the historical books, the Prophets, or the Wisdom books—codices with the entire Bible in Arabic or significant portions thereof are not very numerous. On closer inspection, the already meager number decreases even further, because the majority of such codices prove to be copied from early printings, such as the Arabic portions of the Paris (1629–1645) and London (1652–1657) Polyglots or the Biblia Sacra Arabica (1671–1673). As for the other complete manuscript Bibles in Arabic with this origin, the overwhelming majority appears to have a common source—a highly professional Coptic workshop in early Ottoman Cairo, active between the years 1583

4 Cf. Vollandt, "Arabic, Judith, secondary."

and 1590.[5] This did not escape Graf's attention.[6] The scribal habit of creating such "Vollbibeln" appears to have emerged only *after* the appearance of complete printed Arabic Bibles among the Eastern Churches and clearly relies on them. Arabic versions, too, were soon in print, and this had an irrevocable impact on the previous multiplicity of translations. After the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* rolled off the presses in 1671–73, most communities abandoned their medieval versions in favor of this new translation, whether in print or in hand-copied exemplars.

Fortunately, we possess more evidence about Judaeo-Arabic versions. The early period is chiefly marked by a transition from Aramaic *targumim* to Judaeo-Arabic, similar to the process observed with the southern Palestinian Aramaic version of the Gospels and its Arabic successor in Melkite communities. The earliest traditions were predominantly oral, as indicated by a variety of documentary evidence, including Geonic responsa and Judah ben Quraysh's *Risāla*. Early Judaeo-Arabic versions were used in the schools, intended to promote comprehension and memorization of the Hebrew, which as a rule was transmitted orally alongside its translation. The structural equivalence to the Hebrew source, based largely on the syntactic analogy and homophonic similarity of the biblical verse in Hebrew and Arabic, played a major role in instruction. The classic period of Judaeo-Arabic translations began with Saadiah's short *Tafsīr* (ca. 930). This was Saadiah's masterpiece and became authoritative for succeeding centuries. His translation attempted to capture the intended meaning along with the exegetical and halakhic implications; as such it marks a departure from previous translation traditions. In contrast, Qaraite translators—disregarding Saadiah's *Tafsīr*—followed an approach similar to the early non-Saadianic translations, which they refined according to their needs. The first running translation was by Salmon ben Yerūhīm, a contemporary of Saadiah's. The Qaraite translation enterprise came to a pinnacle in the works of Yefet ben ʿElī (tenth century) and Yeshuʿah ben Judah (middle of the eleventh century).

Arabic Pentateuchs of Samaritan provenance have survived in a number of distinct manuscript groups. The first group consists of trilingual or bilingual codices in Samaritan script, made before the second half of the thirteenth

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5 See Vollandt, "Making Quires Speak."

6 "Noch in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrh. ging man bei den Kopten daran, eine Art Vollbibel zu schaffen, indem man zerstreute biblische Texte verschiedener Herkunft zu voluminösen Kodizes zusammenfasste" (In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Copts created a kind of complete Bible [in Arabic], by assembling books of multiple origins in voluminous codices)" (GCAL 1: 92–93).

century. Although this early version was initially attributed to Isḥāq ibn Faraj ibn Mārūth al-Ṣūrī—known as Abū al-Ḥasan (Aram. Ab-Ḥisdā) and active in the late eleventh century—recent scholarship has demurred and now holds that the origin and date are unknown. The second group represents the version by Abū Saʿīd, active in thirteenth-century Egypt. He does not seem to have retranslated the Samaritan Pentateuch into Arabic, but rather to have revised the earlier version identified in the first group of manuscripts, to which he attached various *scholia*. The third group, which may be termed a proper Saadianic adaptation, consists of a single manuscript, London, BL, MS Or. 7562, written in Samaritan script.

PART 2

CHAPTER 7

Introduction

While Part One of this study provided a description of the historical contexts of the Arabic Pentateuch in general terms, Part Two is devoted to a linguistic and exegetical study of selected chapters of the Pentateuch. It presents a deeper analysis of one particular translation tradition. The focus, thus, moves away from the broader picture to the detail. I have chosen **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$1**, because it is the earliest attested Arabic version of the Pentateuch. The translation, based on the Peshiṭṭa, is today found in two complete manuscripts: Sinai, MS Ar. 2 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hunt. 186. In addition, it is preserved on folios 2v–26r in St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS D 226. On the whole, however, it appears that **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$1** did not enjoy a wide diffusion and was replaced by **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$2**, which survives in many more copies.

Although there is scant evidence about when and where the translation was produced, there are several extra-textual indications of this tradition's antiquity. For example, it is quoted extensively by Ibn Qutayba and al-Ṭabarī (see Chapters 4.2 and 4.3). The passages from **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$1** in these Muslim scholars' writings furnish important evidence for dating the translation to the second half of the ninth century. But Christian authors also attest to this. In the preface to his Arabic version of the *Syro-Hexapla*, the West-Syriac author al-Ḥārith ibn Sinān, active prior to 953 (see Chapter 3.2), refers to Arabic translations of the Peshiṭṭa.[1] Further evidence is the date of Sinai, MS Ar. 2, copied in 939/40. Although produced about a century after the translation itself, it is the earliest dated manuscript copy of an Arabic Pentateuch of any provenance. It is clear that scribal transmission has already left its imprint on the copy and the translation contained must have been older than Sinai, Ar. MS 2. Substantiation of antiquity can be found in the archaic orthography employed (see below in detail). The Arabic of Sinai, MS Ar. 2 is Classical, with minor exceptions. The style and lexicon are elevated, reminiscent of the Qurʾān and pre-Islamic poetry. Middle Arabic features are few and chiefly morphological.

The following chapters are based exclusively on a study of these two manuscripts and represent a comprehensive investigation of **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$1**. They begin with a detailed description of the manuscripts (Chapter 1). Both codices are written on paper and contain the text of the Pentateuch, aside for a few missing folios. The copy from St. Catherine's also contains an Arabic version of Daniel.

1 For example, Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 1, fol. 2r.

Both parts are written in the same hand. Whereas the Pentateuch has a Syriac *Vorlage*, Daniel appears to have been translated from a Masoretic Hebrew-Aramaic text-type. It incorporates the episode of Bel and the Dragon from the Syriac at the end, but lacks the Greek additions to the third chapter.[2] The two manuscripts are dated to the tenth or the eleventh century. MS Oxford is now in the holdings of a Western collection, but MS Sinai is still at St. Catherine's monastery. The provenance of MS Oxford is not certain. Because it comes from the collection of Robert Huntington (1637–1701), which he assembled during his service with the Levant Company in Aleppo, it is likely to have a Syrian origin, like many other codices that Huntington brought to Oxford.[3] MS Sinai was acquired in Damascus and subsequently bequeathed to St. Catherine's in the eleventh century by Solomon, Bishop of Sinai. The description below contains a brief codicological analysis and notes on orthography and vocalization, as well as text-critical observations that are intended to place the manuscript in the larger context of its transmission. The textual affinities of **Arab**$^{\text{Syr}}$**1** are also addressed (Chapter 2), including remarks on the character of the Syriac manuscript that formed the basis of the translation and on the influence of other versions. Another section is devoted to text divisions (Chapter 3).

7.1 The Manuscripts

7.1.1 *Sinai, MS Ar. 2*

Contents: Genesis (2r–81r), Exodus (81v–141r), Leviticus (141v–178v), Numbers (179r–216v), Deuteronomy (216v–246v), Daniel (247r–266v).

Description: 266 folios (several subsequent folios are missing); brownish Oriental paper, evidently unruled, because the *mise-en-page* and number of lines vary; 27 × 16 cm; 5 bifolia/quire; ordered by ornamented *rūmī* numerals; Georgian letters in the *Nushkuri* script are used to number the opening and closing folios of each quire; 15–23 lines per page; justification by means of

2 For details about Daniel, see Miriam Lindgren and Ronny Vollandt, "An Early Copy of the Pentateuch and the Book of Daniel in Arabic (MS Sinai—Arabic 2): Preliminary Observations on Codicology, Text Types, and Translation Technique," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1 (2013): 43–68. Cf. Miriam Hjälm (Lindgren), "Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel: A Comparative Study of Early Manuscripts (9th–13th centuries) with Focus on Translation Techniques in MS Sinai Ar. 1 and MS Sinai Ar. 2," Ph.D. Dissertation, Uppsala University, 2015.

3 See Collin Wakefield, "Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: The Seventeenth-century Collections," in G. A. Russell, ed., *The "Arabick" Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1994): 128–146, on 135.

elongating letters and splitting words (e.g. Gen 1:26, *bi-ṣū—ratinā* "in our image"; Gen 4:18, *li-Mikhu—wāʾīl* "to Mehujael"; Gen 6:11, *wa-i—mtalat* "and it was filled."[4] The wooden binding, possibly later work, measures about 26.5 × 16 cm (smaller than the paper itself).

Each book opens with a *basmala*. Genesis and Leviticus bear no title. Exodus is called *Kitāb makhraj banī Isrāʾīl* "the book of the children of Israel's departure," reflecting its Syriac title *sefrā de-mafqānā* "the book of departure." Numbers is *idh amara Allāh bi-ʿadad banī Isrāʾīl* "when God commanded the counting of the children of Israel" and Deuteronomy is *Kitāb al-mathnāt* "the book of repetition [of the law]" (= Syr. *sefrā de-trēn nāmūsā*). Daniel opens with the formula *hādihi nubuwwat Dānyal al-nabī al-mubārak* "this is the prophecy of Daniel, the blessed prophet."

Script: The manuscript is in an ʿAbbāsid book hand.[5] This script was regularly employed for copying Qurʾānic and non-Qurʾānic texts prior to the introduction of more cursive hands.[6] The influence of cursive scripts, however, is already visible in MS Sinai. Its transitional character is evident in the coexistence of older calligraphic features with those of later cursive scripts. For example, a letter may be written in an old ʿAbbāsid book hand in some places, but in a distinctively cursive form elsewhere. The older features often occur in final or unjoined letters, for which the scribe had to decelerate his *ductus* and therefore produced more precise shapes. The transitional character of the script therefore constitutes a compromise between the calligraphic ideal and

4 Both features are common in early papyri and codices of the Qurʾān. See Adolf Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung in die Arabischen Papyri* (Vienna: F. Zöllner, 1924), 75.

5 In many ways it resembles style NS.III, described by François Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition: Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th Centuries AD* (London: The Nour Foundation and Oxford University Press, 1992): 132–137. On the term "ʿAbbāsid book hand," see there 34–47. In earlier literature, this style was frequently but inappropriately referred to as "Christian Kufi." See Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts: Now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham* (Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1933–1985); Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Forty-one Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907); and Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1885–88).

6 See François Déroche, "Les manuscrits arabes datés du III^{e}/IX^{e} siècle," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 55–57 (1987–1989): 343–379. In addition to the Muslim and Christian manuscripts described there, several Jewish examples of an ʿAbbāsid book hand survived in the Genizah. For example, Geneva MS 40 contains a biblical glossary on the book of Ezekiel, in which the Arabic translation is in Arabic letters written in an ʿAbbāsid book hand; cf. David Rosenthal, *The Cairo Geniza Collection in Geneva: Catalogue and Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2010): 88–89 (in Hebrew).

scribal rapidity. The variations in the handwriting may also be because the codex was produced by a non-professional copyist, as indicated by the many scribal errors (see below). A comparison with older manuscripts in ʿAbbāsid book hands reveals certain general tendencies. Angular shapes are frequently transformed into curves, while straight strokes replace curved shapes. These tendencies, which are also linked to the pace of writing, allowed the scribe to work faster. Calligraphic devices, such as the elongation of certain letters (Arab. *mashq*), drop out of use.[7] The transitional script of MS Sinai has the following noteworthy features:

alīf: A freestanding *alīf* is written as a vertical stroke. Its top is accentuated through a thicker line, producing a slight protuberance to the left. This may be considered a precursor of the serif (Arab. *tarwīs*) in later calligraphic *naskh*. The form stands in contrast to the inverted s-shape of the *alīf* in earlier scripts.

 الظلمة (Gen 1:5)

The unjoined *alīf* projects below the base line. As with the freestanding *alīf*, the precursor of the serif can be seen clearly.

 النهار (Gen 1:16)

In the final unjoined position, the bottom often bends to the right, as in earlier ʿAbbāsid book hands.

 هكذا (Gen 1:7) and  جدا (Gen 1:30), but 

واملوا (Gen 1:22)

bāʾ, tāʾ, thāʾ: In final position, the left end stays flat on the base line.

 وأخذت (Gen 3:6);  ونصب (Gen 2:8)

7 A similar tendency can be observed in Qurʾān codices of the New Style (see Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition*, 132) and in documents (see Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Papyri: Selected Material from the Khalili Collection* [London: The Nour Foundation and Oxford University Press, 1992]: 39–40).

jīm, ḥāʾ, khāʾ: In the initial position, the meeting of the oblique stroke and the horizontal is extended slightly below the baseline.

 خلق (Gen 2:4)

dāl/dhāl: The two lines form an acute angle; the upper bends to the right, resulting in an s-shaped ascender. Less precise letters tend to be rounded.

 فدعا (Gen 1:5),  ادم (Gen 2:19), but  تردين (Gen 3:16)

ṣād, ḍād: The angular body may be elongated. In less precise letters the body tends to be rounded.

 صنع (Gen 8:3),

ṭāʾ, ẓāʾ: Angular body; the ascending stroke slants to the right with a slight curve leftwards in the upper part. The precursor of the serif can be seen clearly.

 لسلطان (Gen 1:16),  واسلطهم (Gen 1:26)

ʿayn, ghayn: In the initial position, the horizontal stroke is sometimes extended to the right, reminiscent of older scripts.

 وأعطتني (Gen 3:12)

In its medial form, the letter appears as a closed triangle resting on its apex.

 يعزينا (Gen 5:29)

kāf: Final *kāf* is usually right-angled, in contrast to earlier script in which it has the same hooked form as in medial position. In some places, the ascender exhibits a bend, reminiscent of the older form. There is a serif on the ascender.

 وجهك (Gen 4:6), but  أخيك (Gen 4:10) and  طعامك (Gen 3:19)

lām: The ascender has a serif. The lower return of the final *lām* lies below the base line.

 وكل (Gen 1:26),  وولد (Gen 4:18)

nūn: The vertical emphasis on the final nun is only a tendency. It is usually curved.

 وكان (Gen 2:10)

wāw: Only carefully written *wāw*'s retain their angular features.

 وشوكا (Gen 3:18), but  فولد (Gen 5:28)

hāʾ: Circular, in distinction to the angular treatment in earlier styles.

 وهو (Gen 2:14)

yāʾ: Final *yāʾ* bends back to the right.

 في (Gen 2:9)

Diacritics, vocalization, and *ihmāl* signs: Diacritical dots are employed consistently and omitted only in very rare cases. They are, however, not infrequently misplaced (see below). The *tāʾ marbūṭa* is undotted as a rule. *Fāʾ* is distinguished from *qāf* by one supra-linear dot, whereas two dots are employed for the latter. Vocalization signs are indicated only infrequently. An *ihmāl* sign is used for the letter /*ḥāʾ*/ in the form of a miniature version of the letter beneath the line. /*Sīn*/ and occasionally /*ʿayn*/ are distinguished from their homographs with diacritical points by a stroke above the letter. Final /*kāf*/ is marked in the same way.

Orthography: MS Sinai displays archaic features in its orthography. As is not uncommon in early Christian Arabic texts, the prefixed indicator of the future tense *sa* is written سا.[8] This is illustrated by Gen 6:17 ساارسل "I will send," Gen 12:6 سايقولون "they will say," Gen 18:26 سااغفر "I will forgive" and Exod 3:12 ساارسلك "I will send you." In the emphatic particle *la* "verily, truly" the short vowel is occasionally lengthened to *lā*, as in Gen 18:17 وقال اللهإني لاأخفي "And the LORD said, Shall I hide."[9] Long vowels that remain defective in Classical orthography, as in the deictic particle *hā*, are frequently spelled phonetically: Gen 9:19, 10:5, 10:31 هاولى for هؤلأ "these" or Gen 23:7, 24:13 هااناذا for هانذا "I [emphatic]." The spelling ثمه, rather than representing the attested Classical Arabic ثمة "there is," seems to reflect a marking of the final short /a/ by means of the letter /hāʾ/.[10] For example, Gen 2:11 وثمه أجود الذهب "there is the best gold," Gen 2:12 وثمه الفيروزج "there is bdellium" and beyond doubt Gen 17:31 وسكنوا ثمه "And they dwelled there."

Another characteristic of the archaic orthography of MS Sinai is the *scriptio defectiva* of the interior long /ā/.[11] This feature occurs in nominal forms, verbal forms, and proper nouns; e.g. Gen 1:9–10 اليبس for اليابس "the dry land," Gen 33:10 الملك for الملاك "the messenger" or Exod 4:18 بسلم for بسلام "in peace." The verb بارك "to bless" is habitually found without indication of the long /ā/, as can be seen in Gen 1:22, 28; 18:18; 22:17, 18; 30:35, etc. As for proper nouns, the manuscript consistently exhibits the defective spellings ابرهيم "Abraham," اسحق "Isaac" and هرون "Aaron." *Hamza* is as a rule omitted.[12] In the final position of nominal forms, this is illustrated by السما for السماء, مسا for مساء, ما for ماء, شي for شيء or الضو for الضوء. The Classical form رؤيا is throughout spelled ريا. In verbs, this feature is found in Gen 1:22, 28 املوا for املئوا "fill [the

8 Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 1: 68–69.

9 Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 1: 69–70; Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, 6.

10 Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 1: 77; Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, 43.

11 Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 1: 77.

12 Ibid., 83–105.

waters]!" and Gen 3:10 فاختبيت for فاختبأت "and I hid myself." Of particular interest is Classical Arabic رأى, which usually occurs as رى in the manuscript. This spelling seems to attest the pronunciation *rā*.[13] Word boundaries are not always kept according to the rules of Classical Arabic: فبينما هما "when they were" is spelled فبينمهما in Gen 4:8. The vocative particle *yā* is often attached to the following word, as in Gen 23:1 and 23:10 يابرهيم or يابني in Gen 23:7, 8 and 49:2.

In addition, final *alīf* frequently represents *alīf maqṣura bi-ṣūrat yāʾ*.[14] The employment of *tāʾ* as the construct form of *tāʾ marbūṭa* can be found. It is particularly common in the word ابنة, for example ابنت هاران "the daughter of Haran" (Gen 11:29), ابنت أبي "the daughter of my father" (Gen 20:12), and ابنت فرعون "the daughter of Pharaoh" (Exod 2:5, 7 and 10). MS Sinai consistently uses the historic spelling حيوت "life" > ḥayāt (Gen 2:7, 22, 24, etc.).

Date: 328 AH (939/40 CE)
Fol. 246v:

كمل السفر الخامس من التوراة بعون الله وقوته وكتب في ثمان وعشرين وثلثماية رحم الله من كتب وقرى [عليه؟]

The fifth book of the Torah has been completed, written in 328 AH. May God have mercy on the one who wrote it and on whoever it is read out to!

Comments: The manuscript opens with a lengthy acquisition note written on fol. 1r, which had been left blank by the original scribe:

بسم الاب والابن وروح القدس اليه (!) واحد يقول الخاطي صلمون المسما اسقف جبل الله المقدس طور سينا المعروف بالطوري (!) المقدس اني اشترات (!) هذا المصحف من دمشق من رجل الموضع وبدراهمه وحبسته على طور سينا حرسه

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13 This feature also occurs in early Arabic papyri; see Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, 29, 79.

14 Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 1: 81.

لله على انه يكون في المواسطة يقرا فيه كل من اراد القراة من الابا القديسين صلاوا تهم
(!) معنا امين. وانا اسل (!) كل من يقرا فيه منجل حب السيد المسيح ان يدعو لي انا
المسكين بمغفرة الخطايا واقول ايضا ان كل من باع هذا المصحف وعان على اخراجه
من طور سينا من اسقف او قسيس او شماس او راهب او علماني فيكون محروم
بكلمة لله مفروز من الاب الابن ومن نعمة روح القدس وتكون خطيه مع يوظي (!)
اسقريوط او مع الدين قالوا دمه علينا وعلى اولادنا ويحل لله له ما حل بداثان واب
يروم واهل قورح ويحل لله له ما حل بسدوم وعمرا وكتب الخاطي المسكين صلمون
بخطه الخميس لثلثة بقين من شهر المحرم سنة اثنين وسبعين وثل[ثماية]

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the one God. The sinner Solomon (Arab. Ṣalmūn), Bishop of the holy Mountain of God, Mount Sinai, known as *al-ṭūrī al-muqaddas*, says: I acquired this codex at Damascus from a local man for its value in *dirham* and bequeathed it to [the monastery of] Mount Sinai—may it be guarded by God!—, on condition that it be kept in the *muwāsaṭa* so that everybody who desires may read in it [the accounts] of the Holy Fathers, their prayers upon us, Amen! For the love of the Lord Messiah, I ask whoever reads in it to pray for my humble self that I be forgiven my sins. I declare that whoever sells this codex or assists in removing it from Mount Sinai—whether bishop, priest, deacon, monk, or layman—shall be excommunicated by the word of God and separated from the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. His life shall be as that of Judah Iscariot and of those who say "His blood is upon us, and upon our children!" (Matt 27:25). God shall inflict on him what he inflicted on Dathan, Abiram and the company of Korah. God shall inflict on him what he inflicted on Sodom and Gomorrah. This was written by the sinner Solomon in his own handwriting on Thursday, 3 days before the end of the month *Muḥarram* in the year 372 AH (982 CE).

Solomon, the author of this note, served as Bishop of Sinai between July 982 and September 1002. His defense of Melkite interests during the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh is reported by Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd of Antioch.[15] He was a great benefactor of the monastery and is mentioned in an inscription that commemorates the completion of the mosaic in the Chapel of the

15 See *Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Saʿīd d'Antioche*, eds. Ignatii Krachkovskii, Françoise Micheau, and Gérard Troupeau (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997): 433.

Burning Bush.[16] He also played a major role in the assembly of St. Catherine's manuscript collection. Wishing to create a library of distinction, Solomon eagerly collected Christian Arabic manuscripts and bequeathed them to the monastery.[17] In addition to the present manuscript, MSS Ar. 75, 309, 436, and NF Parch. 42 were acquired by him. All contain similar notes in his hand. A noteworthy feature in Solomon's deed of donation is that the codex was to be kept in the *muwāsaṭa* of St. Catherine's. It is not clear what this means here; but Weitzmann and Galavaris suggested that *muwāsaṭa* designates the former sacristy of the main church, at the far rear of the eastern aisle.[18] In the Orthodox tradition this is known as the *diaconicon* and was reserved for particularly precious books, including lavishly illuminated Greek Bible codices and those used in the liturgy.

Later, a different hand added marginalia and filled in a blank space at the end of the Pentateuch (fol. 246v) with what seems to be an edifying story. It is the story of a woman who committed adultery and sent her twin sister to endure the "test of the bitter waters" (Num 5:11–31) on her behalf, and is known also from Midrash *Tanḥuma* (*Naso*). The bitter water did not affect the twin sister, but the deception was eventually revealed when the adulterous woman kissed her sister and the bitter water miraculously leaped into her own mouth and she died on the spot. The note was written by *al-qass al-rāhib al-mulaqqab bi-l-Masīḥ* "the priest monk, who is called among the people after Christ." He left similar stories in other manuscripts of the St. Catherine's collection.[19] His full name was Ṣāliḥ ibn Saʿīd al-Masīḥī, or Christodoulos (Ar. Akhrisṭūdūlūs) in Greek. He lived in the monastery on Mt. Sinai and may have been in charge

16 See Hyacinth Louis Rabino, *Le Monastère de Sainte-Catherine du Mont Sinaï* (Cairo: D. Spada, 1938): 105.

17 See Mark N. Swanson, "Solomon, Bishop of Mount Sinai (Late Tenth Century AD)," in Rifaat Ebied and Herman Teule, eds., *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage: In Honour of Father Prof. Dr Samir Khalil Samir S.I. at the Occasion of his sixty-fifth Birthday* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004): 91–111.

18 Kurt Weitzmann and George Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990): 3.

19 On his addition to Sinai, MS Ar. 1, see Russell A. Stapleton, "An Edition of the Book of Daniel and Associated Apocrypha in Manuscript Sinai Arabic 1," Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1988, 315–316 and 371. On his colophon in Sinai, MS Ar. 495, see Mark N. Swanson, "Three Sinai Manuscripts of Books of the Master and the Disciple and their *Membra Disiecta* in Birmingham," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 65 (1999): 347–361. On the addition to Sinai, MS Ar. 589, see Drint, *The Mount Sinai Arabic Version*, xxvi–xxxii. See also Alexander Treiger, "Ṣāliḥ ibn Saʿīd al-Masīḥī," in *CMR* 5: 643–650, which lists additional manuscripts with marginalia, colophons, or additions by him.

of the library. The numerous marginal notes in Ṣāliḥ's hand in Sinai, MS Ar. 2 add brief clarifications and comments to the translation.

The manuscript is full of scribal errors. A number pertain to misreadings of the scribe's exemplar, which appears to have been written in an older unvocalized ʿAbbāsid book hand. For example, ارقيع "firmament," translating Syr. *arqīʿ*, is throughout written as ارفيع (possibly a reminiscence of Ar. *rafīʿ* "lofty, high"). Similarly, Gen 10:17 reads العرفاين for العرقاين "the Arukites." In Gen 3:10, the scribe copied صوتك تمشي for صوتك يمشي "your voice as you walk"; in Gen 22:21, وبوز اجته for وبوز اخيه "and Buz his brother." The similarity of /*jīm*/ and /*kāf*/ in earlier scripts caused the reading حركها الما for اخرجها الما "which the water has brought forth" in Gen 1:21. In فباركه وتركه (Gen 2:15), the first verb is superfluous and not supported by the Syriac source text. As a *lectio difficilior*, it seems to have its origin in the misreading of an unvocalized تركه that the scribe read as باركه in defective spelling. The correct reading was subsequently added. Scribal errors due to *homoioteleuton* are common and found repeatedly on the same folio page. Sometimes the scribe realised his mistake and copied the missing parts in the margin. There are several cases of dittography; for example, فكان وكان (Gen 1:23) and بالارض ارض حويلا (Gen 2:11). The large number of scribal errors, as well as the variation in script and page layout—such as the number of the lines per page—suggests that the copyist was not a professional scribe. This makes it likely that MS Sinai was written by a private individual for his own use.

Bibliography: Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A hand-list of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1955): 3; idem, trans. J. N. Youssef, *al-fahāris al-taḥlīliya li-makhṭūṭāt ṭūr sīnā al-ʿarabiya* (Alexandria: Munsha'at al-Maʿarif, 1970): 20–23; *GCAL* 1: 108.

7.1.2 *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hunt. 186*

Contents: Gen 1:14–end (3r–56v), Exodus (57r–97v), Leviticus (98r–120r), Numbers (120r–166v), Deuteronomy 1:1–30:10 (166v–210v). The replacement folios represent **Arab**$^{\text{Syr}}$**2**.

Description: 210 folios (fols. 8–9 are a later replacement), with the first and last folios of the original codex missing; ruled Oriental paper, 24.8 × 16.5; 4–5 bifolia/quire; ordered by *abjad* numeration; 19 lines per page; calligraphic *naskh*, almost fully vocalized; *ihmāl* signs are used for the letters /*ḥāʾ*/, /*ʿayn*/, /*hāʾ*/ and final /*kāf*/ in the form of a sub-linear miniature version. /*dāl*/, /*rāʾ*/, and /*sīn*/ are distinguished by a slanted stroke.

Date: undated (early eleventh century)

Copyist: unknown

Comments: There are many misplaced diacritical dots; e.g. on fol. 1r (Gen 1:20) بفسا حته for نفسا حية. On fol. 29r, ومن كل السما (Gen 27:39) was nonsensically reproduced as من طل السما because of the similarity of *kāf* and *ṭāʾ* in earlier scripts. Notable too is the spelling منجل for من اجل, which is reminiscent of early Christian Arabic codices.[20]

Bibliography: Johannes Uri, Alexander Nicoll, and Edward Bouverie Pusey, *Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ codicum manuscriptorum Orientalium, videlicet Hebraicorum, Chaldaicorum, Syriacorum, Æthiopicorum, Arabicorum, Persicorum, Turcicorum, Copticorumque catalogus* (Oxford: e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1787–1835), 1 (Codices Christiani): 30; Paulus, *Commentatio critica*, 40, 48–50, 55; *GCAL* 1: 105.

7.1.3 *St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS D 226*

At least for folios 2v-26r, **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$1** is also found in St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS D 226. For a description, see Appendices: Inventory of Manuscripts.

7.2 Textual Affinities

Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$1 is a faithful translation of the Syriac Peshiṭta. Sinai, MS Ar. 2, the earliest dated manuscript, generally adheres to the text type found in manuscripts of the basic *textus receptus* (BTR).[21] There are, however, occasional readings

20 Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 1: 101.

21 On the different stages of textual transmission of the Peshiṭta Pentateuch, see Koster, *The Peshiṭta of Exodus*; idem, “Redating TR and BTR;” P. B. Dirksen, “East and West, Old and Young.”

that disclose an affinity to more ancient manuscripts, as represented by 5b1. For example:

	Sinai, MS Ar. 2	5b1	BTR
Gen 7:22	وكل	ܘܟܠ	ܟܠ
Gen 8:9	فلم تجد	ܘܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ	ܘܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ ܠܗ
Gen 18:15	فقال لها	ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ	ܘܐܡܪ
Gen 18:31	فقال إبرهيم	ܘܐܡܪ ܐܒܪܗܡ	ܘܐܡܪ
Gen 19:15	فلما انشق الصبح	ܘܟܕ ܣܠܩ ܨܦܪܐ	ܘܟܕ ܣܠܩ ܫܦܪܐ
Gen 20:5	فقال لي	ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ	ܘܐܡܪ

Whether these variants reflect a different *Vorlage* or a different translation technique is not always clear. It seems that the manuscript of the Peshiṭta that served as the *Vorlage* for **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$1** was fairly contemporaneous to the production of the translation in the second half of the ninth century.

There are rare instances in which MS Sinai follows the LXX rather than the Syriac:

	Sinai, MS Ar. 2	Peshiṭta	LXX
Gen 3:10	سمعت صوتك تمشي	ܩܠܟ ܫܡܥܬ	ὄφει Ὅτι ἐποίησας τοῦτο, ἐπικατάρατος
Gen 5:7	سبع مائة	ܬܡܢܡܐܐ	ἑπτακόσια
Gen 5:12	ماية وسبعين	ܫܒܥܝܢ	ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα
Gen 5:13	سبع ماية	ܬܡܢܡܐܐ	ἑπτακόσια
Gen 8:13	من حيوة نوح	–	ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τοῦ Νωε

The question is whether these readings represent the original state of **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$1**. In these loci, MS Oxford has readings that accord with the Peshiṭta BTR. The doubt is strengthened by Ibn Qutayba's quotation. In Gen 3:10, for example, he

dispenses with the addition *tamshī*, "[and I heard your voice] walking," found in the LXX.[22]

7.3 Text Divisions

The manuscripts employ different methods of indicating divisions in the text: MS Sinai uses *incipits* that consist of short phrases, which designate the start of a defined unit in the biblical narrative. These phrases summarize the content and serve as a heading for the ensuing pericope. In the manuscript, they are usually distinguished from the base text by rubrication.[23] The account of the tower of Babel (Gen 11:1ff), for example, is introduced by *qismat al-alsina wa-ikhtilāf lughatihim al-suryāniya ilā ithnayn wa-sabʿīna lisān* "The division of tongues and separation of the Syriac language into 72 tongues"; the laws for Passover (Exod 12:43ff) are headed *hādhihi sunnat al-fiṣḥ* "This is the rule of Passover." It is also not uncommon to find the first words of a verse used as an *incipit*.

In MS Oxford, the base text has no divisions into pericopes. It is nevertheless likely that the exemplar from which it was copied had pericopal *incipits* similar to MS Sinai. For example, the first words of Gen 5:1, *hādha kitāb mā walad li-Ādam* "this is the book of the generations of Adam," are omitted in MS Oxford. Since these words occur as an incipit in MS Sinai, their absence may reflect the copyist's decision to neglect the *incipits*. Not noticing that the *incipit* is made up of the first words of the verse, he skipped them. MS Oxford, however, contains secondary text divisions. A later hand marked the first nine pericopes according to the system used in **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$**2**. The divisions start from the second *aṣḥāh* (for a full list of *aṣḥāh*, see Appendices, Text Divisions) and are marked by *abjad* numeration. Also as a later addition, the Hebrew weekly portions (*parashot*) were indicated by a rubricated sign; in Deuteronomy, their Hebrew names are noted in the margins in Hebrew script. The portions in MS St Petersburg use sporadic *incipits* and *aṣḥāh*.

This system of marking pericopes by *incipits* is not unique to **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$**1** and occurs in all translations of a Syriac provenance. *Incipits* are similarly found in **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$**2** and in Syriac-Orthodox adaptations of Saadiah's *Tafsīr* (**Arab**$^{\mathrm{Heb}}$**1a**), as well as in manuscripts of the Peshiṭta. Thus **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$**1** followed the established

22 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba: *al-Maʿārif li-bn Qutayba*, ed. Tharwat ʿUkāsha (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub, 1960): 13; ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muslim Ibn Qutayba: *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muḥammad Zuhrī al-Najjār (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1983): 139.

23 As a result, they are not always entirely legible on the microfilm.

Syriac tradition. It nevertheless appears that this tradition was never standardized, in contrast to the Hebrew weekly portions. Manuscripts of the Peshiṭta differ in the actual wording of chapter *incipits* and the consistency with which they are employed. The case is similar for the Arabic translations: some manuscripts exhibit a fuller set of *incipits*, whereas others use them more sparingly. Consequently, there is also no strict correspondence between Peshiṭta manuscripts and the Arabic translation traditions. In MS Sinai, the Arabic translation inserts *incipits* where they are lacking in the Syriac *Vorlage*. The table lists all the *incipits* found in MS Sinai and their correspondence to manuscripts of the Peshiṭta (there are none in Deuteronomy):

Genesis

11:1	قسمة الالسن واختلاف لغتهم السريانية الى اثنين وسبعة لسان	ܦܘܠܓ ܠܫܢܐ
11:10	وهذا ما ولد لسام	ܘܗܠܝܢ ܬܘܠܕܬܗ ܕܫܝܡ ܫܝܡ
11:27	هذا ما ولد لتارح	ܘܗܠܝܢ ܬܘܠܕܬܗ ܕܬܪܚ ܬܪܚ
28:10	illegible	ܚܠܡܐ ܕܚܙܐ ܝܥܩܘܒ
36:1	هذا ما ولد لعاسو عاسو هو اذوم	ܘܗܠܝܢ ܬܘܠܕܬܗ ܕܥܣܘ ܥܣܘ ܗܘܝܘ ܐܕܘܡ
36:10	وهاولى اسما بني عاسو	ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܗܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܥܣܘ
36:15	هاولى عظما بني عاسو	ܘܗܠܝܢ ܪܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܥܣܘ
36:17–18	وهاولى ابني بشمت امراة عاسو هاولى بنو اهليبا امراة عاسو	ܗܠܝܢ ܒܢܝܗ ܕܒܣܡܬ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܥܣܘ ܘܗܠܝܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܗܠܝܒܡܐ
36:23	illegible	ܘܗܠܝܢ ܒܢܝ ܫܘܒܠ
36:24	هاولى بنو [...]	ܘܗܠܝܢ ܒܢܝ ܨܒܥܘܢ
36:40	illegible	ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܗܐ ܕܪܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܥܣܘ
37:2b	هذا رويا يوسف	–
49:1	هذا ما قال يعقوب لبنيه واخبرهم [...]	–

Exodus

12:43	هذه سنة الفصح	–
15:1	هذا تمجيد على خلاصهم	ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܘܫܐ
20:1	هذه هى العشرة كلمات	ܥܣܪܐ ܦܬܓܡܝܢ
20:24	هذا عمل المذبح	–
21:1	هذه القضايا	ܥܠ ܕܝܢܐ
25:2	هذا ما امر الله في اصلاح قبة الزمن	–

Leviticus

6:7	هذه سنة السميد	–
6:18	هذه سنة الخطية في المكان الذي يذبح فيه الصعود	– –
7:1	هذه سنة القربان في المكان الذي يذبحون فيه الوقود الكامل	
7:11	هذه سنة ذبح الصعود الذي يقرب لله	ܗܢܘ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܕܒܚܐ ܕܥܠܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܒ ܠܡܪܝܐ
7:37	هذه سنة وقود الصعود	ܗܢܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܝܩܕܐ ܕܥܠܬܐ
11:1	تبيين ما بين الحلال والحرام من بادة يوكل ودابة لا يوكل	ܦܘܪܫ ܡܐܟܘܠܬܐ
12:2	هذه [. . .] تلد	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ
13:1	هذه سنة البرص	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܚܘܬܐ ܕܓܪܒܐ
15:1	هذه سنة الخايب	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܥܠ ܫܦܘܥܬܐ ܕܕܘܒ
16:1	هذه سنة استغفار جماعة بني أسرايل مرة في السنة في عشرة من شهر تشرين الاول	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܚܘܣܝܐ ܕܚܛܗܝܗ ܕܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܚܕܐ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܒܬܫܪܝ ܩܕܝܡ ܒܪ ܥܣܪܐ
17:1	هذه سنة القرابين والذبايح لكيلا يذبحون خارج من قبة الزمن لان بني اسريل كانوا يذبحون الشياطين فقضا عليهم قضية الموت مثل هذه السنة	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܘܕܕܒܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܕܒܚܘܢ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܫܟܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܠܫܐܕܐ ܡܕܒܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܘܦܣܩ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܟܠ ܕܡܐ

18:1	هذه سنة الخطايا التي [...] بقضية الموت	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܚܛܗܐ ܕܡܬܬܒܥܝܢ
		ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܡܫܠܡܝܢ
		ܒܥܠ ܕܝܢ
22:17	هذه سنة النذور والقرابين الذي يقربون	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܢܕܪܐ ܘܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܒܝܢ
	لله بغير عيب	ܕܠܐ ܡܘܡ ܠܡܪܝܐ
23:1	هذه سنة الاعياد وعدتهم	ܕܥܠ ܥܐܕܐ
23:9	وهذه خاصة الحصاد	ܕܥܠ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܚܨܕܐ
23:23	ذكر القرية	ܕܥܠ ܕܘܟܪܢܐ ܕܩܪܢܬܐ
23:33	هذه سنة اعياد المظال	ܕܥܠ ܡܛܠܠܐ
24:1	هذه سنة المصابيح	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܥܠ ܫܪܓܐ
24:10	هذه سنة من [...]	ܪܫܡܐ ܕܚܛܗܐ ܗܕܓܘܦܐ ܕܒܪ
		ܐܝܣܪܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܟܬܫ ܥܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢܐ
		ܕܡܘܬܐ
25:1	هذه سنة سبت الارض في خمسين رجعة	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܫܒܬܬܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܫܒܥ
	المساكين على اربابهاه	ܫܢܝܢ ܬܘܒܐ ܠܡܣܟܢܐ ܘܒܬܪ
		ܚܡܫܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܦܘܢܝܐ ܠܡܪܗ
26:3	هذا ثواب بيت الله به عباده باحسان	ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܛܒܐ
	محسنهم	
26:14	هذه سنة النقمة وانتصاف من عمل السو	ܢܩܡܬܐ ܘܬܒܥܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܒܝܫܐ
27:1	هذه الوصايا والقضايا التي جعل الله	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܢܕܪܐ ܕܢܦܫܬܐ ܒܕܡܝܐ
	بينه وبين اسرايل في طور سينا على نبي	ܘܪܡܬܐ
	موسى	

Numbers

5:11	هذه سنة الغيرة	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܥܠ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܛܢܢܐ
6:1	هذه سنة الاحرام	ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܥܠ ܢܙܝܪܐ
6:22	سنة البركات	ܒܘܪܟܬܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ
7:1	هذا حدثان المذبح	ܚܘܕܬܐ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ
7:89	هذه سنة قربان لخدمة المذبح	–

9:1	هذه سنة الفصح	–
9:14	هذا مرتحل بني اسرايل بقوتهم	–
16:1	حيث خالف قروح على موسى وهرون فحسدهما هو واصحابه	ܐܬܪܐ ܕܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܕܩܘܪܚ
19:1	هذه سنة التطهير	ܟܠ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܬܕܟܝܬܐ
19:14	هذه سنة من يموت في قبة الزمن	–
20:1	حجارة الما	ܟܐܦܐ ܕܡܝܐ
20:22	خروج هرون من الدنيا	–
22:2	هذه نبوة بلعام	ܢܒܝܘܬܗ ܕܒܠܥܡ
26:57	هذا عدد [. . .] وقبايلهم	ܘܗܠܝܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܠܘܝܐ ܠܫܪܒܬܗܘܢ

CHAPTER 8

Translation Technique

The rest of Part Two addresses the translation technique employed in **Arab^{Syr}1**. Starting from the relationship between translation and *Vorlage*, the aim is describe the strategy employed by the translator to transfer particular structures, concepts, or ideas from the source language into the target language. Several modes of convergence and divergence will be discussed. As Barr put it in his seminal *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Bible Translations* (1979), the description of converging tendencies "has to concern itself much of the time with variations within a basically literal approach; different kinds of literality, diverse levels of literal connection, and various kinds of departure from the literal."[1] He emphasizes that the spectrum ranging from "literal" to "free, paraphrastic," although customarily applied to translation technique, is largely inadequate. Varying degrees of literalism on different levels need to be identified. A translation may be literal on one level but tend to greater freedom on another. Concentrating on the Septuagint, Barr isolated six categories for measuring the differences between a more literal and a less literal translation.[2] The first category, "the division into elements or segments," addresses the way in which the individual elements of the source text are represented in translation. It assesses the translator's underlying principle for segmenting his *Vorlage* into units, ranging from entire sentences or phrases to single lexical items and on to attached morphemes, particles, and conjunctions. Biblical translations that show an uncompromising concern to render every individual element by closely corresponding equivalents in the target language, often at the expense of its stylistic and grammatical rules, are usually referred to as mirror or word-for-word translations. In the terms of the classical philosophy of translation, the approach is *verbum e verbo* rather than *sensus de sensu*. The second category, "quantitative addition or subtraction of elements," looks at the quantitative divergence from the original. For example, textual expansions of a theological and interpretative nature, ranging from single words to phrases

1 James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht 1979): 281.

2 See also Emmanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997): 20–24. His categories for measuring the literalness of a translation overlap with Barr's. He combines Barr's third and fifth category to "internal consistency" and omits the sixth category.

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and lengthy excursuses, are prominent in some Aramaic targumim.[3] The opposite tendency, subtraction and omission, is expressed in the translator's initial choice to leave elements of the source text out of his translation. "Consistency or non-consistency in the rendering," Barr's third category, refers to the translator's use of the same equivalent for all (or most) occurrences of a given lexical item—lexeme, morpheme, or constructions—in the *Vorlage*. The fourth category, "accuracy and level of semantic information," describes translators' different approaches to the semantic gap between source and target language. A departure from the semantic field of a term in the *Vorlage*, for example, through a lexical substation that limits the meaning or makes it more precise, is a move away from literalness and towards a freer rendering. Barr's fifth category, "coded 'etymological' indication of formal/semantic relationships obtaining in the vocabulary of the original language," refers to instances in which the translator intentionally employs translation equivalents that are etymologically related or homophonically similar to the lexemes they render. The final category, "level of text and level of analysis," refers to the reflection in the translation of certain formal aspects of the *Vorlage*. A translator working from an unvocalized Hebrew source must engage in a certain degree of analysis of the consonantal text that leaves him with different choices in his rendition of homographs.

In addition, Barr pointed out that a proper characterization of translation technique requires identifying the translator's specific concerns. A full understanding of the translator's strategy depends on his motivation and must take account of the translation's intended *Sitz im Leben*. For example, it is implicit that translations produced for didactic purpose in a school milieu differ from those directed to an educated elite. Translations intended to serve communal educational needs are usually marked by greater literalism. Here the translator's primary concern is the basic elucidation of the source text. Hence echoes of the words of the original by means of imitative renderings into the vernacular are an essential part of translation technique. Translations in scholastic contexts often deliberately adhere to a formal representation of all functional elements, retaining the word order of the *Vorlage*, mirroring individual textual elements, and rendering lexical units in a consistent fashion. The idea is to enable pupils to back-translate into the source language without any loss of detail. A literal approach was also the norm in non-biblical school texts, including bilingual

3 Cf. the examples given in Philip S. Alexander, "Jewish Aramaic Translation of Hebrew Scriptures," in M. J. Mulder, ed., *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Assen and Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988): 210–253.

fragments of Vergil, with Latin and Greek in parallel columns, and some translations of legal texts from Greek into Syriac.[4] The linguistic adequacy of the target language played a minor role, since the study of the biblical text was habitually overseen by a professional teacher, who complemented the instruction with oral explanations in the vernacular. This oral dimension is an important characteristic of these "didactic translations," which often seem to have been committed to writing only after an initial period of oral transmission. Early non-Saadianic translations into Judaeo-Arabic and the Neo-Aramaic traditions are good examples of literal translations in educational contexts.[5]

At the other extreme is a less literal type of translation, in which the translator is oriented towards the target language. Such translations are generally characterized by careful attention to the rules of the target language. The translator is concerned that they be linguistically and stylistically appropriate for the receiving culture. Syntactic and lexical calques or borrowings, frequent in texts produced for a didactic context, tend to be beyond the pale. To convey the sense of the whole rather than the detail, translations of this type prefer dynamic or functional equivalence. Sentences are frequently restructured or supplemented by interpretative expansions in order to create a cohesive flow in the narrative. As Brock noted, it is the *signifié*, the intended meaning of a given term or construction, that moves to the foreground.[6] Hence, there is no consistent equivalency of lexical items, but a selection based on the context. Some of the terminology and expressions employed reflect the translator's cultural background and the community in which he lives. As a result, this translation type is commonly perceived as paraphrastic. Saadiah's *Tafsīr* and Moses Mendelssohn's German translation of the Bible, to which the former is often compared, are among the most prominent example of this type.

Starting from this typology, the following chapters will examine the translational strategy of **Arab^{Syr}1**. The analysis is based on selected chapters: Gen 1–11, 18–24, 31–33; Exod 1–9, 13–30, 26–28; Lev 6 and 24; and Num 20–24, 32–36. This corpus includes a representative sample of biblical genres—prose,

4 See Sebastian Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *Greek-Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979): 69–87; Herman Jan Scheltema, *L'enseignement de droit des antécesseurs* (Leiden: Brill, 1970).

5 For early non-Saadianic Judaeo-Arabic translations, see Chapter 3.5.1. On Neo-Aramaic translations, see Margo Rees, *Lishan didan, targum didan: Translation Language in a neo-Aramaic Targum* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008).

6 See Sebastian Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," in René Lavenant, ed., *III Symposium Syriacum 1980. Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983): 1–14.

poetry, and legal texts. Where indispensable for the discussion, examples from other chapters will be adduced. All these chapters were transcribed from Sinai, MS Ar. 2, the most valuable textual witness of to **Arab^{Syr}1**, and then collated with the remaining manuscripts. The quotations in the following chapters are taken from MS Sinai unless there was a compelling reason to amend its reading. In such cases, its reading is given in a note.

The translation technique features examined are organized under the headings of syntax, vocabulary, particles and morphemes, and style. The first three of these address decreasing textual units of the Syriac source text: from single verses or a cluster of verses, to single lexemes in a verse and smaller grammatical units. The chapter on style concentrates on stylistic modifications and paraphrases, such as additions, omissions, and substitutions. This breakdown is not rigid, however. Although renderings of the particle ܐܝܟ and the construction ܐܝܟ ܕ- belong, strictly speaking, to different sections—the former is a matter of vocabulary, the latter of syntax—it was felt appropriate to keep them together. Conversely, the translation of interrogative clauses is in the section on syntax, but the rendering of ܗܐ as an interrogative particle is in that on particles. Indirect speech is treated under syntax, but the change from direct to indirect speech under style.

Each section is divided into subsections that deal with a specific element of translation (e.g. infinitives, proper nouns, a certain particle, etc.). Based on my analysis of the sample chapters, the main techniques of the transfer into Arabic are then presented for each element. Note, however, that the description is intended only to display main tendencies. The sections usually begin with a short introduction, which outlines the linguistic use, in both the source and target language, of the translation element under discussion. This is followed by a presentation of the main techniques of translation and an analysis of the motives for the divergence (such as functional linguistic differences, context, and appropriateness for the receiving culture). The description is based on the general assumption that the translator—whether consciously or unconsciously—identified an element in the source text and subsequently selected the optimal technique for its representation in the translation according to the context. The "translation equivalent" may correspond on a formal or functional level (formal equivalence vs. functional equivalence), or both.

There are also comparisons with other traditions of biblical translation into Arabic. Each section includes supporting examples, preferably from different parts of the Pentateuch.[7] To facilitate the comparison, the elements under

7 The Syriac Pentateuch is cited according to *The Old Testament in Syriac. Peshiṭta Version* (Leiden: Brill, 1977–1991).

examination are underlined. Each section ends with a summary that recapitulates the main tendencies in the translational strategy of **Arab^{Syr}1**.

8.1 Syntax

We begin with the agreement between source and target language with regard to sentence structure: diverging and converging tendencies in word order (8.1.1), followed by the rendering of coordinate (8.1.2) and subordinate clauses (8.1.3), of conditional clauses (8.1.4), and of interrogative clauses (8.1.5). The use of moods—jussive, cohortative, and imperative—is analyzed next (8.1.6). The rest of the section addresses translational strategies for dealing with Syriac infinitive constructions (8.1.7), participles (8.1.8), negation (8.1.9), and the vocative (8.1.10).

8.1.1 *Word Order*

The word order of biblical Syriac is very free.[8] Parts of the sentence are frequently fronted for the sake of emphasis or contrast. Classical Arabic, however, has more rigid rules. Nominal clauses are usually ordered Subject-Predicate (SP). The most common word order in verbal clauses is Verb-Subject-Object (VSO), although this sequence may be modified after certain conjunctions or particles. SP and VSO arrangement seems to prevail in textual units of the Syriac Pentateuch that contain a consecutive narrative, and this coincides with the structure of Classical Arabic clauses. Consequently, this word order is taken over into the translation with such regularity that examples are unnecessary. **Arab^{Syr}1** also complies with the Classical Arabic prescriptions with regard to the agreement of gender and agreement of number between verb and subject.

The first three categories below deal with clauses in which the translator modified the word order to conform with the rules of Classical Arabic. The remaining categories involve the syntactic devices used to retain the Syriac word order.

Syriac: SV = Arabic: VS

Where the Syriac SV word order does not express contrast or antithesis, it is consistently brought into line with Classical Arabic rules by inverting subject and verb in the translation. Compare:

8 See Theodor Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904): 258–262.

Gen 1:2	وكانت الأرضُ خَرِبَة خاوية	ܐܪܥܐ ܗܘܬ ܬܘܗ ܘܒܘܗ
Gen 6:8	ولقي نوح رحمة من الله	ܘܢܘܚ ܐܫܟܚ ܪܚܡܐ ܒܥܝܢܝ ܡܪܝܐ
Ex 7:18	فيموت السمك الذي في النهر	ܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܒܢܗܪܐ ܢܡܘܬܘܢ

Syriac: OVS = Arabic: VSO

When Syriac direct Object-VS word order does not indicate some form of antithesis, the direct object usually follows the verb and subject in the Arabic (VS-direct Object). The objects of a command, which often begin the sentence in biblical Syriac, are placed after the imperative in Arabic.

Gen 3:15 واغري العداوة بينك وبين المرأة

ܘܒܥܠܕܒܒܘܬܐ ܐܣܝܡ ܒܝܢܟ ܠܐܢܬܬܐ

Gen 6:16 واصنع في الفلك كوا على كل ذراع من أعلاه واصنع باب الفلك من جانبه واصنع الفلك أثلاثًا أسفل وأوسط وأعلا

ܘܒܘܨܝܪܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܠܩܒܘܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܐܡܬܐ ܬܫܡܠܝܗ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܘܬܪܥܗ
ܕܩܒܘܬܐ ܒܣܛܪܗ ܬܥܒܕ ܡܕܪܝܐ ܬܚܬܝܐ ܘܬܢܝܢܐ ܘܬܠܝܬܝܐ
ܬܥܒܕܝܗ

The same rule applies to indirect objects (+ resumptive pronoun when present):

Gen 2:17 ولا تأكل من شجرة علم الخير والشر

ܘܡܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܛܒܬܐ ܘܕܒܝܫܬܐ ܠܐ ܬܐܟܘܠ ܡܢܗ

Gen 3:16	وقال للمرأة	ܘܠܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܡܪ

Arabic: inversion due to conjunctions or particles

In Classical Arabic, certain conjunctions and particles, including *anna*, *li'anna*, *inna*, and *la'alla*, cause the inversion of VS word order. **Arab**[Syr1] is throughout consistent with this usage. For example, in Gen 20:18, ܡܛܠ ܕܡܐܚܕ ܐܚܕ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܐܦܝ ܟܠ ܡܪܒܥܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܒܝܡܠܟ "For the LORD had fast closed

up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech" is translated as لأن الله كان قد سد أرحام نسا أبي مليك. *Li'anna* is followed by SV in contrast to the VS sequence of the source text.

Gen 22:20 وقال له أن ملكًا قد وَلَدَتْ لأخيكَ ناحور بنين

ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܗܐ ܝܠܕܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܦ ܗܝ
ܒܢܝܐ ܠܢܚܘܪ ܐܚܘܟ

Gen 24:39 لعل المرأة تكره تتبعني

ܘܕܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܬܨܒܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܡܐܬܐ ܒܬܪܝ

Syriac: OSV = Arabic: contrastive OSV

Where the initial placement of the object in the Syriac serves to point a contrast, this structure is retained in the translation, inasmuch as Classical Arabic uses the same word order to convey a contrast.[9] For example, to emphasize the contrast between the snake's habit before and after its punishment ܘܥܦܪܐ ܬܐܟܘܠ "and dust you shall eat" in Gen 3:14 is translated as والتراب تأكلين. There are other examples in the same chapter, all stressing the contrastive element of God's punishment:

Gen 3:18 وحاجًا شوكا تنبت لك ܟܘܒܐ ܘܕܪܕܪܐ ܬܘܥܐ ܠܟܝ

Extraposition

As noted above, it is a prominent feature of biblical Syriac syntax to place parts of the sentence in the initial position for the sake of emphasis or contrast. The inversion of the expected VSO word order often serves to indicate a narrative boundary, with a change and unexpected turn in topic. It may also be used to shift an extraposed element from the background to the foreground of the narrative.[10] In **Arab^Syr1** these functions are conveyed by the use of the construction *ammā* … *fa*- … + resumptive pronoun, by which Classical Arabic extraposes parts of the sentence at the start.[11] In Gen 19:11, "the men who were at the door

9 See Geoffrey Khan, *Studies in Semitic Syntax* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988): 58.
10 Ibid., 123–146.
11 Ibid., 44–45.

of the house were smitten with blindness” (ܘܓܒܪܐ ܕܒܬܪܥܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܟܠܗܘ ܒܫܪܓܪܓܬܐ). The verse shifts the attention from Lot and the messengers inside the house, mentioned in the preceding verse, to the mob outside it. **Arab**[Syr]**1**, which has فأما الرجال الذين كانوا حول الباب فغشيت أبصارهم “*and what concerns* the men who were in front of the door, their eyes were veiled,” not only expresses this shift with the aid of *ammā*…*fa*-…+ resumptive pronoun, but also retains the word order of the source text. Sometimes there is extraposition without the particle *ammā*. In Gen 21:13, ܘܐܦ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܡܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܪܒܐ ܐܥܒܕܝܘܗܝ, “And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation” is rendered as وابن الأمة أيضًا فإني جاعله لشعب عظيم. Again, the word order indicates a shift of referent, in that the previous verse deals with Sarah’s son Isaac. Further examples:

Gen 23:11	أما المزرعة فقد وهبتها	ܚܩܠܐ ܝܗܒܬ ܠܟ

Extraposition of separate pronouns:

Gen 6:21	وأنت فاحمل معك	ܘܐܢܬ ܣܒ ܠܟ ܥܡܟ

Extraposition of temporal adverbs:

Gen 21:23	أما الآن فأحلف لي بالله	ܘܗܫܐ ܝܡܝ ܠܝ ܒܐܠܗܐ
Gen 31:44	اما الآن تعال نتوافق	ܘܗܫܐ ܬܐ ܢܩܝܡ ܩܝܡܐ

VS word order preceded by an adverbial phrase

Adverbial phrases placed before verb and subject are preserved in that position in the translation.

Gen 3:14	وعلى بطنك تمشين	ܘܥܠ ܒܛܢܟ ܬܗܠܟ
Gen 5:2	ذكر وأنثى خلقهما	ܕܟܪ ܘܢܩܒܐ ܒܪܐ ܐܢܘܢ

8.1.2 *Coordinate Clauses*

The characteristic feature of the syntax of biblical Syriac, as of biblical Hebrew, is its rich employment of parataxis. Sentences tend to be strung together as coordinate clauses, introduced by the conjunction *wa*. As a result, the relationship between the events or actions expressed in two successive coordinate is

not always clear and may even be ambiguous. It is not uncommon for biblical translators to attempt to clarify the relationship by introducing some kind of hypotactic subordination. The transformation of coordinate into subordinate clauses may also reflect the stylistic requirements of the target language. Examples can already be found in the Septuagint.[12] But translators into Judaeo-Arabic, too, did not hesitate to reinterpret biblical coordination in that manner.[13] Saadiah, in particular, mastered the transformation of coordination into subordination. For example, the paratactic enumeration of the creation in Gen 1, which consists of a chain of coordinate clauses linked by the Hebrew conjunction *waw*, is reinterpreted in the *Tafsīr* as a defined temporal succession. Temporal subordination is inserted into the narrative, in the pattern *falammā* … *faʿala* … "And when [God completed a certain act in creation] … he did. …"

(4) פלמא עלם אללה אן אלנור ג'יד פצל אללה בין אלנור ובין אלט'לאם
(5) וסמא אללה אוקאת אלנור נהארא ואוקאת אלט'לאם סמאהא לילא ולמא
מצ'י מן אלליל ואלנהאר יום ואחד

> (4) *When* God knew that the light was good, God divided the light from the darkness. (5) And God called the hours of light Day, and the hours of darkness he called Night. And *when* the evening and the morning passed, it was the first day.

Although **Arab^Syr1** frequently retains the paratactic style of the *Vorlage*, cases of subordination, mainly temporal, causal, and final, can be found.

Temporal subordination

When Syriac coordination is represented by Arabic temporal subordination, the particle *lammā* is inserted in the protasis and *lākin* or *idh* in the apodosis.[14] A good illustration is the translation of ܘܩܕܡ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܕܪܘܢܝ ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝ "And he arose in the morning *and* said to them, Send me away, that I may go to my master" (Gen 24:54) as فلما أصبح لكنه قال لهم سرحوني لكيما انطلق

12 See, for example, Anneli Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982).

13 See Meira Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 146–148; eadem, "Medieval Karaite Methods of Translating Biblical Narrative into Arabic," *Vetus Testamentum* 48 (1998): 375–398.

14 For *lākin* in the sense of *fa-*, see Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 1: 460–461.

إلى سيدي "And *when* he arose in the morning, he said, Send me away, that I may go to my master."

Gen 7:6 وكان نوح ابن ستماية سنة إذكان الطوفان على الأرض

ܘܢܘܚ ܒܪ ܫܬܡܐܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܛܘܦܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܝܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ

Exod 2:12 فلما لم يري أحد لكنه قتل المصري

ܘܚܙܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܐܢܫ ܘܩܛܠܗ ܠܡܨܪܝܐ

There is also subordination by a *ḥāl* clause:

Gen 24:26 فخر العبد على وجهه ساجداً

ܘܒܪܟ ܓܒܪܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܣܓܕ ܠܡܪܝܐ

Causal and final subordination

Causal clauses employ *li'anna*, as in Exod 7:21: ܘܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܘ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ ܠܡܫܬܝܐ ܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܢܗܪܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܕܡܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ "and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river; *and* the blood was throughout all the land of Egypt" is translated as فلم يستطيع أهل مصر يشربوا من ما النهر لأنه كان دمًا في كل أرض مصر "and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river because blood was throughout all the land of Egypt." Final clauses are introduced by *li* or the negative *li'alā*.

Exod 4:21 وأنا أقسي قلبه لئلا يرسل الشعب

ܘܐܢܐ ܐܩܫܐ ܠܒܗ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܕܪܗܘܢ ܠܥܡܐ

8.1.3 *Subordinate Clauses*

This section is dedicated to the translation of subordinate clauses. Different constructions representing the relative pronoun ܕ- in attributive and conjunctive relative clauses are dealt with first. Its translation when used as an indicator of indirect speech is then described. Finally, a discussion of the rendition of the conjunctions ܕ- and ܡܛܠ ܕ- in causal clauses can be found.

Attributive Relative Clauses

Neither Syriac nor Arabic employs relative pronouns after indefinite nouns, but only after a definite noun. In biblical Syriac, ܕ- is used for this purpose. Depending on the antecedent it may be rendered into Arabic in different ways.

ܕ- = *alladhī*

When preceded by a definite noun, ܕ- is regularly rendered by the Arabic relative pronoun *alladhī*, following the Classical Arabic requirements of agreement in number and gender with the antecedent noun. An example is the dual in Exod 6:26:

هذان موسى وهرون اللذان قال لهما الله

ܗܢܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܪܝܐ

Syriac resumptive pronominal suffixes within the relative clause are generally featured in the translation, attached to a preposition or a verb: ومن أعمال أيدينا ومن الأرض التي لعنها الله "and in the toil of our hands, which comes from the ground which God has cursed" for ܘܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܠܛܗ ܡܪܝܐ (Gen 5:29).[15] Where absent in the source text, they are supplied in **Arab^Syr1**.

Gen 9:12 وقال الله لنوح إن ميثاقي الذي أوثقكم به

ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܢܘܚ ܗܕܐ ܐܬܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܐܢܐ

Gen 18:8 واحتمل السمن واللبن والعجل الذي صنع فوضعه بين أيدهم

ܘܢܣܒ ܚܐܘܬܐ ܘܚܠܒܐ ܘܥܓܠܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܩܕܡܝܗܘܢ ܘܣܡ

Gen 33:11 فخذ الآن البركات التي أتيتك بها

ܣܒ ܒܘܪܟܬܝ ܕܐܝܬܝܬ ܠܟ

Another case is when the Syriac adverb ܬܡܢ functions as a resumptive pronoun for an antecedent noun indicating location:

15 See Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 278–281.

Gen 19:27 وغدا إبرهيم إلى الموضع الذي كان فيه قايم قدام الله

ܘܩܕܡ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܩܐܡ
ܬܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܗܘܐ

ܕ- = *man* or *mā*

When the antecedent is a loosely determined entity and consists of a word such as ܟܠ "all," *man* or *mā* is generally found in the translation—the former in human contexts, the latter in non-human ones.

Gen 21:6 وكل من سمع فليقر لي عينًا ܘܡܟܢܐ ܟܠ ܕܫܡܥ ܢܚܕܐ ܠܝ

Gen 1:31 وكل ما تحرك على الارض ܘܠܟܠ ܕܪܚܫ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ

Conjunctive Relative Clauses

The relative pronoun ܕ- may open object clauses that follow verbs of perception or knowing. In this function it usually renders biblical Hebrew כִּי. As can be seen in the translation of ܘܝܕܥ ܢܘܚ ܕܩܠܘ ܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܦܝ ܐܪܥܐ (Gen 8:11) as فعلم نوح أن الما قد قل عن وجه الأرض "Noah knew *that* the waters had subsided from the earth," Arabic *anna* is used in such contexts. This accords with Classical Arabic, which uses that word after verbs of perception or knowing. SV word order is generally inverted (see 8.1.1). Similarly, the categories below—exhibiting *li'anna, anna, min ajl anna* and *fa'inna* as translation equivalents for ܕ- —comply with this Classical Arabic usage. Nominal forms that are only implicit in the *Vorlage* are frequently supplied by pronominal suffixes.

Gen 20:6 وأنا أيضًا أعلم أنك بصدق قلبك فعلت هذا

ܘܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܬܡܝܡܘܬ ܠܒܟ ܥܒܕܬ ܗܕܐ

When the added pronominal suffix anticipates an entire subsequent clause, the *ḍamīr al-sha'n* "pronoun of fact" is employed. E.g.:

Gen 32:26 و رأى أنه لا يستطيعه ܘܚܙܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܡܨܐ ܥܠܗ

ܕ- *As an Indicator of Indirect Speech*

Another function of the relative pronoun ܕ- is to introduce indirect speech.[16] In such cases, it is usually translated by the conjunctive particle *anna*. Substitution of indirect for direct speech will be discussed in Chapter 8.4.3.

Gen 20:5 إنه أنبأني أنها أخته ܗܐ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܚܬܝ ܗܝ

Causal Clauses

Rarely, ܕ- is understood to express a loose causal relationship.[17] For example, in Gen 20:9 Abimelech questions Abraham, ܘܡܢܐ ܣܟܠܬ ܠܟ ܕܐܝܬܝܬ ܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܝ ܣܟܠܬܐ ܪܒܐ "and how have I offended you that you have brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin?" The translation is وما ذا الذي أخطيت إذ أغشيتني وأهل مملكتي خطية عظيمة "and how have I offended you on account of which you have brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin?" More commonly, Syriac ܡܛܠ ܕ- introduces causal clauses. It may precede a verb or a noun and is rendered by different conjunctions in the Arabic. The most common translation is *min ajl anna* "because, on account of the fact that"; e.g. Exod 3:5 من أجل أن المكان الذي أنت فيه مطهَّر "for the place whereon you stand is hallowed" for ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܩܐܡ ܐܢܬ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܘ ܩܕܝܫܐ. It seems that **Arab**^Syr^**1**'s preference for *min ajl anna* is motivated by an attempt to preserve a formal analogy with the preposition ܡܛܠ "on account of, for the sake of," which is translated as *min ajl*.[18] In addition, *li'anna*, *anna*, and *fa'inna* may be used. The use of these particles accords with the rules of Classical Arabic.[19]

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16 Ibid., 300.

17 Ibid., 299.

18 E.g. Gen 3:17 ملعونة الأرض من أجلك "cursed is the ground for your sake" for ܠܝܛܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܛܠܬܟ or Gen 19:22 من أجل ذلك دعى اسم تلك القرية صعرا "on that account the name of the city was called Zoar" for ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܩܪܐ ܫܡܗ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ ܨܥܪ.

19 In Middle Arabic, the different particles blended into a single ان; see. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 519. However, as the phonetic spelling فين in Gen 18:30 demonstrates, they were distinguished in **Arab**^Syr^**1**. Further, *anna* instead of the fuller *li'anna* is not necessarily a Middle Arabic feature (ibid.) but already occurs in Classical Arabic; see Hermann Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter – Universitätsverlag, 1977): 318–319.

Gen 21:12 لأنه بإسحق يدعا لك الخلف

ܡܛܠ ܕܒܐܝܣܚܩ ܢܬܩܪܐ ܠܟ ܙܪܥܐ

Exod 4:19 ارجع إلى مصر أنه قد مات كل القوم

ܗܦܘܟ ܙܠ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܡܝܬܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ

Exod 7:24 من أجل أنهم لا يستطيعوا يشربوا من ما النهر

ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܕܢܗܪܐ

8.1.4 *Conditional Clauses*

Biblical Syriac distinguishes possible (feasible) from impossible (hypothetical) conditions. In the first case, the protasis is introduced by ܐܢ + a verb in the perfect or imperfect, or an active participle. Impossible conditions open with ܐܠܘ + a verb in the perfect or active participle.[20] Similar structures obtain in Classical Arabic, but the verbs in the protasis are strictly limited to the perfect and imperfect jussive. **Arab^{Syr}1** as a rule conforms to that usage.

Possible conditions

In **Arab^{Syr}1**, *in* and occasionally *idh* introduce possible conditional clauses and are followed by a verb in the perfect or imperfect jussive. The apodosis is often introduced by *fa-*.

Gen 33:10 فإن كان لي الآن عندك مودة فخذ

ܐܢ ܐܫܟܚܬ ܪܚܡܐ ܒܥܝܢܝܟ ܣܒ

Exod 1:16 فإن يكن ذكرًا فاقتلنه وإن كانت أنثى فاستحيينها

ܐܢ ܕܟܪܐ ܗܘ ܩܛܘܠܘܗܝ ܘܐܢ ܢܩܒܬܐ ܗܝ ܩܘܝܘܗ ܡܚܝܢ ܠܗ

Gen 18:24 إذ كان خمسين تقيًا في القرية أتهلكهم

ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܙܕܝܩܝܢ ܒܓܘ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܒܪ̈ܢܫܐ ܚܕ ܡܘܒܕ ܐܢܬ

20 Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 307–314. ܐܢ can also be used to introduce an indirect interrogative clause; see below Chapter 8.1.5.

In possible conditions stated in the negative, ܐܠܐ or ܐܢ ܠܐ is found in Syriac.[21] The Arabic usually has *in* + *lam* + imperfect jussive.

Gen 4:7	وإن لم تحسن	ܘܐܠܐ ܬܫܦܪ
Exod 7:27	وإن لم تشأ	ܘܐܠܐ ܨܒܐ ܐܢܬ

Impossible conditions

Impossible conditions, introduced in Syriac by ܘܐܠܘ or ܘܐܠܘ ܠܐ in the negative, begin with the corresponding Arabic particles *law* or *law-lā* in **Arab**[**Syr1**]. The protasis is in the perfect, in both the source language and the translation.

Gen 31:42 ولولا إله آبائي إبراهيم، ودعاء إسحاق قام لي

ܘܐܠܘ ܠܐ ܐܠܗܗ ܕܐܒܝ ܐܠܗܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܘܕܚܠܬܗ ܕܐܝܣܚܩ ܩܡ ܠܝ

8.1.5 *Interrogative Clauses*

Syriac has several categories of interrogative clauses.[22] Without a syntactical or lexical indication, the most basic type of direct questions—not using any interrogative—can be distinguished from affirmative clauses only through the context.[23] Rarely, ܗܐ is used (see 8.3.6). The particle ܐܢ indicates indirect questions.[24] In contrast, Arabic does not differentiate between direct and indirect questions and uses either of the interrogative particles *a* and *hal* in both.

= *Arabic* a

Direct and indirect questions are habitually introduced by the Arabic interrogative particle *a*.

21 When ܐܠܐ is found with the sense of "however, but" (ibid., 310), it is usually translated *lākin*. E.g. Gen 24:27 ولكن الله ساقني "however, God has led me" for ܐܠܐ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܒܪܢܝ or Gen 24:38 ولكن انطلق "but you shall go" for ܐܠܐ ܙܠ.

22 Ibid., 267–268.

23 Direct questions with interrogative, including ܗܪܟܐ, ܐܝܟܢܐ and ܡܢܐ, do not constitute a difficulty for the translator and are not dealt with here. The corresponding Arabic interrogatives (= *kayfa, ayna* and *mā/mādhā*) are generally used.

24 Ibid., 303.

Gen 18:21 وأعلم أحق فعلوا مثل ما ارتفع إليَّ

ܐܚܙܐ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܩܒܠܬܐ ܕܩܠܬܗ ܠܘܬܝ ܥܒܕܘ

Gen 24:58 أتذهبين مع هذا الرجل

ܐܙܠܐ ܐܢܬܝ ܥܡ ܓܒܪܐ ܗܢܐ

= *Arabic* hal

Hal, too, may be used, with no variation in function.

Gen 8:8 لتنظر هل قل الما عن الأرض

ܕܢܚܙܐ ܐܢ ܩܠܘ ܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܦܝ ܐܪܥܐ

Gen 29:5 وقال لهم هل تعرفون لابان بن ناحور

ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܠܒܢ ܒܪ ܢܚܘܪ

Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions, occasionally introduced by ܠܐ ܗܘܐ in the source, are translated by Arabic *a-laysa*.

Exod 4:11 ألست أنا الله ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܪܝܐ

8.1.6 *Moods*

The following section illustrates the Arabic translation of Syriac verbs in the jussive, cohortative, and imperative moods.

Jussive

In addition to a simple statement of momentary or continuous present, the Syriac imperfect can indicate a jussive mood, expressing a wish or a command.[25] In such contexts, it is consistently translated by the Arabic jussive + prefixed *li*.

Gen 1:6 وقال الله ليكن أرقيع ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܐܪܩܝܥܐ

25 Ibid., 208.

Gen 8:17 وكل شي يدب على الأرض ليتوالدون في الأرض

ܘܟܠܗ ܪܚܫܐ ܕܪܚܫ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܦܩ ܥܡܟ ܘܢܬܝܠܕܘܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ

Cohortative

The cohortative mood is expressed by use of auxiliary verbs in Syriac. It is formed by the imperatives of ܐܬܐ and ܗܒ, which are placed in front of the first person singular or plural imperfect of the modified verb, cf. ܬܐ ܢܓܙܘܪ ܩܝܡܐ "let us make a covenant" (Gen 31:44). This compound form is usually imitated in Arabic: in the translation, a jussive imperfect follows the imperative *taʿāla* or *halumma*.[26]

Gen 11:7 هلموا ننزل فنقسم ܬܘ ܢܚܘܬ ܘܢܦܠܓ

Exod 3:10 فتعال أرسلك ܬܐ ܐܫܕܪܟ

The particle *fa-li-* may be affixed to the imperfect verb.

Gen 11:3 هلم فلنلبن لبنًا ܬܘ ܢܪܡܐ ܠܒܢܐ

Exod 1:10 تعالوا فلَنَحْتَلْ ܗܒܘ ܢܬܚܟܡ

Imperative

The Syriac imperative is as a rule rendered by the Arabic imperative, as illustrated by the following example:

Gen 1:22 وقال اثمروا واكثروا واملوا الما

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܦܪܘ ܘܣܓܘ ܘܡܠܘ ܡܝܐ

8.1.7 *Infinitives*

Biblical infinitives are rendered by several different constructions in Arabic. The infinitive is most frequently preceded by ل- and expresses intention or purpose. The infinitive is also used to indicate necessity or an injunction.[27]

26 The latter form is used, for example, in Q 6:150 and 33:18.

27 Ibid., 224–226.

By contrast, as the so-called absolute infinitive it may serve as an object complement to a verbal form of the same root and stem for the sake of emphasis.[28] By far the most common translation of the infinitive employs an inflected Arabic verb. A tendency to imitate the nominal character of the infinitive can be observed infrequently:

Gen 24:15 ܗܘܐ ܥܕܟܝܠ ܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܠܡܡܠܠܘ و لم يكن الرجل حتى الآن أكمل كلامه

Gen 49:33 ܘܟܕ ܫܠܡ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܠܡܦܩܕܘ فلما تم يعقوب وصيته

li + *inflected verb in the subjunctive*

When the Syriac infinitive serves as an indicator of intention or purpose, the Arabic employs *li* + an inflected verb, usually in the subjunctive. Occasionally, the conjunctions *ḥattā* and *li-kay* are found as well.

Gen 11:5 فنزل الله لينظر إلى القرية

ܘܢܚܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܩܪܝܬܐ

Exod 6:8 إلى الأرض التي رفعت يدي لأعطيها

ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܪܝܡܬ ܐܝܕܝ ܠܡܬܠܗ

an + *inflected verb*

an + inflected verb is used where the infinitive serves as object complement to a preceding verb.

Gen 19:30 ܡܛܠ ܕܕܚܠ ܠܡܬܒ لأنه خشي أن يسكن

Exod 8:25 ܒܠܚܘܕ ܠܐ ܢܘܣܦ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܠܡܕܓܠܘ ولكن لا يعود فرعون أن يكذب

Coordinating conjunction followed by an inflected verb

There are cases in which the infinitive is simply rendered by an inflected verb without any subordination to the preceding verse. Particularly in chains of verbal forms or infinitives, the last units are introduced by coordinating conjunctions, such as *wa-* or *fa-*, in order to conform to the requirements of Arabic. This is illustrated by the following examples:

28 Ibid., 235–238.

Gen 2:10 وكان النهر يخرج من عدن فيسقي

ܘܢܗܪܐ ܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܥܕܢ ܠܡܫܩܝܘܬܗ

Gen 23:2 وجا إبراهيم يويل سارة ويبكي عليها

ܐܬܐ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܡܪܩܕܗ ܥܠ ܣܪܐ ܘܠܡܒܟܝܗ

Exod 6:10 وكلم الله موسى وقال

ܘܡܠܠ ܡܪܝܐ ܥܡ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܡܐܡܪ

Construct infinitive + preposition = perfect verb

The construct infinitive is occasionally used along with ܒ- to express time-determinations. In Arabic, the structure is generally resolved into a temporal clause, employing *ḥīna*. The Syriac constituents are not represented by corresponding individual Arabic equivalents (e.g. Arabic preposition + *maṣdar* + pronominal suffix).

Gen 19:33 ولم يعلم لوط حين انضجعت معه ولا حين قامت

ܘܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܒܡܫܟܒܗ ܘܒܡܩܡܗ

Absolute Infinitive

The absolute infinitive is regularly omitted in translation. Despite the two-word phrase in the Syriac source, only the inflected verb is rendered. For example, ܡܗܦܟ ܐܗܦܘܟ (Gen 18:10) is represented by أرجع. Likewise, ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܚܙܐ ܚܙܝܬ (Exod 3:7) is translated as وقال الله إني رأيت. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule. In the examples that follow, the Classical Arabic construction *al-mafʿūl al-muṭlaq* serves as a translational equivalent to the Syriac absolute infinitive.

Gen 22:17 وإكثار أباركك فإني بركة أكثرك[29]

ܡܒܪܟܘ ܐܒܪܟܝܢܟ ܘܡܣܓܝܘ ܐܣܓܐ

29 Sinai, MS Ar. 2 exhibits the defective spelling ابركك.

Gen 31:30 شهوة اشتهيت

ܕܪܓܪܓܘ ܐܬܪܓܪܓܬ

8.1.8 *Participles*

The Active Participle

In Syriac, the active participle can serve a variety of functions.[30] The most basic is as a predicate, expressing a condition or state without any indication of a definite time. The temporal reference has to be specified by the context. In such circumstances, the Syriac active participle is generally rendered by an Arabic one. The action is perceived to be contemporaneous with the time set by the context and may thus be expressed by an Arabic *ḥāl*-clause.

Gen 18:1 واستعلن الله على إبرهيم في بلوط ممرى الأموري وهو جالس على باب قبته

ܘܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܘܬܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܒܠܘܛܐ ܕܡܡܪܐ ܐܡܘܪܝܐ ܘܗܘ ܝܬܒ
ܒܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ

Gen 33:1 ورفع يعقوب عينيه فإذا بعاسو مقبل

ܘܐܪܝܡ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܘܚܙܐ ܘܗܐ ܥܣܘ ܐܬܐ

Imperfect

The active participle frequently designates a continuing or momentary action in the present and is consequently translated by an imperfect verb in Arabic, e.g.:

Gen 4:9 فقال لا أدري

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ

Exod 4:1 وقال إنهم لا يصدقوني ولا يستمعون دعايي

ܘܐܡܪ ܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܠܝ ܘܠܐ ܫܡܥܝܢ ܠܩܠܝ

Future

It may also rarely appear in the future, if the context indicates that the condition or state is yet to take place.

30 Ibid., 211–221.

Gen 6:17 ما الطوفان على الأرض فإني سأرسل[31]

ܘܐܢܐ ܗܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܐܢܐ ܛܘܦܢܐ ܡܝܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ

Gen 18:19 فإني أعلم أنه سيوصي بنيه وأهل بيته من بعده ليحفظوا سبيل الله

ܡܛܠ ܕܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ ܕܡܦܩܕ ܠܒܢܘܗܝ ܘܠܒܢܝ ܒܝܬܗ ܡܢ
ܒܬܪܗ ܕܢܛܪܘܢ ܐܘܪܚܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ

Perfect

Particularly in the case of ܐܡܪ, Syriac narrative commonly employs the participle as a historical present. In addition to this specific usage, the participle often denotes a contemporary action in the past. **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$**1** employs a perfect verb in such cases.

Gen 19:15 فلما انشق الصبح لكن الملايكة اشتدوا على لوط وقالوا له

ܘܟܕ ܣܠܩ ܨܦܪܐ ܐܠܨܘܗܝ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܠܘܛ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ

Gen 32:1 عليهم فأصبح لابان من الغد فقبل بنيه وبناته وبارك[32]

ܘܩܕܡ ܠܒܢ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܘܢܫܩ ܠܒܢܘܗܝ ܘܠܒܢܬܗ ܘܒܪܟ ܐܢܘܢ

The active participle in conditional sentences

The active participle frequently occurs in Syriac conditional sentences, in both the protasis and the apodosis.[33] In conformity with Classical Arabic rules, it is rendered in such cases by a verb in the perfect.

Gen 18:30 وجدت فيها ثلثين أفإن[34] ܘܐܢ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܬܡܢ ܬܠܬܝܢ

The Passive Participle

Like the active particle, the passive participle can have different functions in different syntactical contexts.[35] When it serves as a predicate, it is usually

31 Sinai, MS Ar. 2 reads ساارسل.
32 Sinai, MS Ar. 2 exhibits the defective spelling وبرك.
33 Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 212.
34 Sinai, MS Ar. 2 reads افين.
35 Ibid., 211–221.

rendered by an Arabic passive participle, as in Gen 3:17 ملعونة الأرض من أجلك "cursed is the earth for your sake" for ܠܝܛܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܛܠܬܟ or Gen 24:27 وقال مبارك الله ربي "and he said: Blessed be the God of my master" for ܘܐܡܪ ܒܪܝܟ ܗܘ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ.

Perfect

A particular function of the passive participle is to denote the completion of an action.[36] In such instances, it is represented by an Arabic passive verb in the perfect.

Gen 2:23 من أجل أنها أُخذت من المر ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܢܣܝܒܐ

Passive participle with an active signification

When the passive participle is used with an active signification, it is generally rendered by the active voice in Arabic.[37]

Gen 4:7 إلى الباب خطية رابضة[38]

ܥܠ ܬܪܥܐ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܪܒܝܥܐ

Gen 4:21 والصنج وهو أول من أخذ في ضرب ونج[39]

ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟܠ ܕܐܚܝܕ ܩܝܬܪܐ ܘܟܢܪܐ

8.1.9 *Negation*

The most frequent form of negation in the source text is ܠܐ. It may be followed by a perfect or imperfect verb or by a participle.

ܠܐ + *perfect*

When ܠܐ negates a verb in the perfect, it is rendered consistently by *lam* + *yafʿal* in the jussive.

36 Ibid., 218.

37 Ibid., 220. For further examples and parallels to other branches of Aramaic, see Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, "Two 'Passive' Constructions in Aramaic in the Light of Persian," in Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim et al., eds., *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977): 70–89.

38 Sinai, MS Ar. 2 exhibits the defective spelling ربضة.

39 Sinai, MS Ar. 2 reads الونج.

Gen 8:25	فبرز خارجا فلم يرجع	ܘܢܦܩ ܡܦܩ ܘܠܐ ܗܦܟ
Exod 2:3	ولم تستطع أن تخبيه	ܘܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ ܬܘܒ ܠܡܛܫܝܘܬܗ

Very rarely, *mā* + *faʿala* is used. There is only one such use in the entire corpus of sample chapters: denying that she had laughed in Gen 18:15, Sarah answers ما ضحكت "I laughed not" for ܠܐ ܓܚܟܬ.

ܠܐ + *imperfect*

Lā + *yafʿal* is the usual way to negate imperfect verbs. For example:

Gen 6:3	لا يسكن روحي	ܠܐ ܬܬܕܝܪ ܪܘܚܝ

ܠܐ + *participle/adjective*

To negate a participle, which is often transferred into an inflected verb in the imperfect (see above), the verb form is preceded by *lā*.

Gen 4:9 أين هابيل أخوك فقال لا أدري

ܐܝܟܘ ܗܘ ܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܟ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ

Exod 4:1 وقال إنهم لا يصدقوني ولا يستمعون دعايي

ܘܐܡܪ ܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܠܝ ܘܠܐ ܫܡܥܝܢ ܠܩܠܝ

Mā is employed only rarely; for example, ما أعرف (Exod 5:2) for ܠܐ ܝܕܥ. In Classical Arabic, *mā* plus an imperfect verb is reserved for a specific negation of possibility.[40] In the context of the preceding narrative in Exod 5:2, it appears likely that **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$**1** uses this structure deliberately. The verse reads: "And Pharaoh said: 'Who is the Lord, that I should hearken unto His voice to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, and moreover I will not let Israel go." The consequential impossibility of Pharaoh's acquaintance with the Israelite God is thus expressed by ما أعرف, which has to be understood as "I could not have possibly known . . ." in this context.

40 Cf. Wolfdietrich Fischer, *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972): 152.

Negation by *laysa*
In nominal clauses, negation is frequently expressed by Arabic *laysa*.

Gen 20:9	ليست من أمي	ܘܠܐ ܒܪܬ ܐܡܝ
Gen 24:33	لست بآكل	ܠܐ ܠܥܣ

ܠܝܬ

In the source text, ܠܝܬ is employed to negate existence. In the Arabic, this function is fulfilled by *lam*/*lā* + the inflected imperfect of the verb *kāna*, in accordance with the context. It has to be noted that the Arabic cognate *laysa* is used very rarely, e.g. to translate ܠܝܬ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܢܥܘܠ ܥܠܝܢ (Gen 19:31) by وليس في الأرض رجل يغشانا "and there is not a man in the earth to sleep with us."

Gen 2:5	ولم يكن آدم يحسن بعمل الأرض
	ܘܐܕܡ ܠܝܬ ܠܡܦܠܚ ܒܐܪܥܐ
Gen 20:11	ألا تكون خشية الله في هذه الأرض
	ܕܠܡܐ ܠܝܬ ܕܚܠܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܗܢܐ

8.1.10 *The Vocative*

There is no indication of the vocative in Syriac. **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr1}}$, however, often introduces Arabic *yā* where the context requires it. *Ayyuhā* (as a rule in its archaic spelling ايه) is used rarely.

Gen 21:17	وقال ما لك يا هاجر	ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܐ ܠܟܝ ܗܓܪ
Exod 3:4	وقال يا موسى يا موسى	ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܡܘܫܐ
Gen 24:31	أدخل أيه المبارك	ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܥܘܠ ܒܪܝܟܗ
Exod 2:14	فقال ذلك الرجل مَن جعلك أيه الرجل ربا	ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢܘ ܥܒܕܟ ܓܒܪ ܪܒ

8.1.11 *Summary*

On the level of syntax, the main motive for diverging from the structure of the source is purely linguistic and pertains to the differences in the two languages.

Where the Syriac *Vorlage* and Classical Arabic coincide, **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$ converges and reproduces the linguistic structure in translation. This can be seen with regard to SP, VSO, and contrastive OSV word order, as well as with the extraposition of parts of speech and VS word order preceded by an adverbial phrase. But where transfer of the linguistic function of an element in the source text would require a formal deviation from Classical Arabic, the translation consistently diverges. **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$ is thus clearly directed towards the target language and exhibits only a limited concern to imitate its *Vorlage*. Syriac non-contrastive SV word order and relative clauses following subordinating conjunctions and particles are commonly inverted in the translation to comply with Classical Arabic rules. Although the sentence structure of conditional clauses is similar in Syriac and Arabic, **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$ as a rule conforms to the more strictly confined prescriptions for verbal forms in the protasis and renders them in the perfect and imperfect jussive.

The same strategy can be seen in regard to the rendering of infinitives. Various verbal constructions are used, depending on the specific function of the Syriac infinitive. Only in very rare cases is the nominal character of the infinitive retained. In the vast majority of instances, such as to indicate intention or purpose and object complement, **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$ renders infinitives as a verb preceded by a subordinating conjunction (*li* + jussive or *an* + subjunctive). Likewise, in chains of verbal forms or in connection with -ܒ to express time-determinations, the infinitive construct is resolved into an inflected verb in Arabic. The infinitive absolute is mostly omitted.

Similarly, active and passive participles are transferred into finite verbs and into the tense (perfect, imperfect, or future) implied by the context. Only when expressing a state without any indication of a definite time does **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$ render the Syriac active participle by an Arabic one. Interrogative particles (Arabic *a* or *hal*), the jussive (Arabic *li-*) mood, and the vocative (Arabic *yā*), which have no structural counterpart in the source language, are supplied in the translation. There is a clear distinction in the rendering of the Syriac relative pronoun -ܕ, which is translated according to the several linguistic functions it may fulfill—introducing attributive relative clauses (= *alladhī* or *man* or *mā*), conjunctive relative clauses (= *anna*), or indicating indirect speech (= *anna*) or causal clauses (= *idh*).

An exception, however, is the translation of Syriac coordinate clauses as subordinate ones (temporal, causal, and final). Here the reason for the variation between source and translation is not purely linguistic, but the translator's attempt to be more explicit. The removal of syntactic ambiguities caused by the paratactic biblical style reflects a reader-orientation and introduces an explicit interpretative dimension. In this regard, the techniques of translation are reminiscent of those analyzed in the section on style (8.4).

In conclusion, with regards to syntax the translation technique of **Arab**^{Syr1} is largely governed by its concern to render the various elements in accordance with their context and functions. There is no noticeable attempt at a formal equivalence between source and target language. **Arab**^{Syr1} usually prefers to diverge from the structure of the *Vorlage* in order to comply with the idiosyncrasies of Classical Arabic. A striking concern in the translational strategy of **Arab**^{Syr1} is therefore the linguistic and stylistic adequacy in the target language.

8.2 Vocabulary

We now turn to the translation of selected lexical features. Biblical translations oscillate between two basic approaches—either imitating the vocabulary of the *Vorlage* or conveying the semantic aspect, i.e., the *intended meaning* of the source text. The translator's strategy for dealing with this essential dichotomy will be examined in what follows. The first section deals with the use of cognates (8.2.1). This is followed by sections on transliteration (8.2.2) and the infrequent use of homophonic roots as translation equivalents (8.2.3). The remaining categories concern Islamic vocabulary (8.2.4), alternative translations (8.2.5), lexical consistency (8.2.6), and the translation of names (8.2.7), including names of God, proper and gentilic names, and toponyms. The last section examines the lexical presentations of anthropomorphisms (8.2.8).

8.2.1 *Use of Cognates*

The use of cognates is a salient feature of **Arab**^{Syr1}. As noted above, this tendency constitutes a main characteristic of biblical translations from a Syriac *Vorlage* (Chapter 3.2). It is evident that the usage of verbal or nominal forms shared by both languages is natural and almost imposed on the translator of **Arab**^{Syr1} by the proximity of the Syriac and Arabic lexicons. This habit, however, does not affect the lexical adequacy of translation choices with regard to the stylistic requirements of the target language. A fine example is the employment of *adama* as a translation of Syriac ܐܕܡܬܐ "ground, earth" in Gen 2:7 and Exod 20:25. This usage is paralleled in early non-Saadianic and Qaraite translations of אֲדָמָה.[41] In Classical Arabic, *adama* commonly designates "skin." It is rarely attested as referring to the "earth," although medieval Arabic lexicographers disagree on its precise meaning: for some, the "interior of the earth";

41 See Tobi, "Pre-Sa'adianic Arabic Translation"; Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 171; Aharon Maman, *Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 91.

for others, its "surface."[42] Hence the rendering من تراب أدمة الأرض for ܥܦܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܕܡܬܐ (Gen 2:7) perfectly complies with Classical Arabic usage. In contrast to the denotation in the source text, "the dust of *the earth*," **Arab^{Syr}1** offers a slightly modified meaning—either "the dust of *the earth's interior*" or "the dust of *the earth's surface*." The employment of *adama* in this verse, although not conditioned by Syriac usage, nevertheless seems to have emerged in an attempt to maintain the connection with the proper noun Adam.

There is no concerted attempt to consistently employ Arabic cognates in order to imitate or hint at the source. **Arab^{Syr}1** complies in that respect with Classical Arabic. It is therefore distinct from many other translation traditions, which frequently stick to cognates whatever their specific meaning in the target language. This often led to the introduction of artificial cognates as translation equivalents. Lexical imitation, as well as the coinage of artificial cognates, is a prominent feature of early non-Saadianic and Qaraite translations into Judaeo-Arabic.[43] But Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, too, exhibits examples, even though its author stressed that it was written according to the rules of Arabic rhetoric (Arab *ʿalā fasīḥ lafẓihi*).[44] Ibn Janāḥ, in his treatment of Gen 11:3 נִלְבְּנָה לְבֵנִים, "let us make bricks," criticized the *Tafsīr* for the unsound use of Arabic cognates.[45] Rejecting the employment of the denominative verb *labbana* "to make bricks," which imitates the Hebrew form and is found in Saadiah's translation of the phrase, he explains: "And its meaning is 'let us make bricks' (Arab *nattakhidh labinan*). [. . .] It would, however, be unsound and incorrect if I translated it by *nulabbin labinan* (i.e. Saadiah's translation), since in the language of the Arabs [. . .] I have not found this verb used as a derivation from a noun in the way [the language of] the Hebrews does."

The use of cognates in **Arab^{Syr}1** cannot be described as mechanical. Even when acceptable, Arabic cognates are repeatedly avoided and represented by semantic synonyms. For example, in Gen 1:26 God lets man "have dominion over the *fish* of the sea," ܒܢܘܢܝ ܝܡܐ in the source text, which is translated by its Arabic cognate نون البحور. In other verses, however, the non-cognate *samak* is the preferred equivalent. In like manner, the verb ܒܪܐ is rendered

42 For the different views, see Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Beirut: Libraire du Liban, 1968 [1863–1893]), 1: 36.

43 See above Chapter 3.5.1 and the references given there. The use of cognates in Qaraite translations in discussed by Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 170–174.

44 See Ratzaby, *A Dictionary of Judaeo-Arabic*, 146–149. The citation is found in *Œuvres completes*, eds. Derenbourg, Derenbourg, and Lambert, 1: 3.

45 See Ibn Janāḥ: *Kitāb al-uṣūl, The Book of Hebrew Roots by Abu'l Walid Marwan ibn Janah*, ed. Adolf Neubauer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875): 344.

by يبس "to dry" in Gen 8:7, but as the synonymous non-cognate جف "to dry" in Gen 8:13 and 14. Non-cognate, semantic equivalents are statistically the preferred rendering. Cognates are not infrequently demoted to translational alternatives (see below). At times they are avoided altogether. ܓܒܠ "to form" in Gen 2:7, 8 and 19 is rendered by خلق "to create," although the verb جبل is attested in Arabic and used in the corresponding verses in **Arab^{Syr}2**.

Many of the cognates in **Arab^{Syr}1** are Syriac loan words that entered Arabic at an early stage and are already attested in pre-Islamic poetry or the Qurʾān. As such, they are an integral part of the Classical Arabic lexicon and cannot be considered Syriacisms in a strict sense. They are used as natural equivalents of their Syriac counterparts, from which they historically derived.[46] Attested in *Kitāb al-aghānī*, كوا , cognate to ܟܘܬܐ and designating the window in Noah's ark (Gen 8:6), is a good illustration.[47] Another prominent example is طوفان "deluge," translating Syriac ܛܘܦܢܐ. *Ṭūfān* is likewise used in the Qurʾānic Noah narrative.[48] A similar tendency is evident in the rendering of realia, such as coinage and measurements. Weights related to metal (thus corresponding to "coins") are mentioned in the Pentateuch on various occasions. ܡܬܩܠܐ, itself a translation of Hebrew שֶׁקֶל, is the most common. It is usually rendered by مثقال, which occurs frequently in pre-Islamic poetry, the Qurʾān, and early papyri.[49] The same is the case for the dry measures كيل and مكيال, translating Syriac ܟܝܠܐ and ܡܟܝܠܬܐ.[50] As in Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, the measure of volume ܟܘܪ in Lev 27:16 is found as كر in **Arab^{Syr}1**. *Lisān al-ʿarab* notes that it was used exclusively in Iraq.[51]

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46 I follow here the approach of Emanuel Tov, "Loan-words, Homophony and Transliterations in the Septuagint," *Biblica* 60 (1979): 216–236, for Hebrew loanwords in the Septuagint.

47 Siegmund Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden: Brill, 1886): 13.

48 Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938): 207.

49 See Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter*, 202; Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary*, 258; and Adolf Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakl., 1954): 181–219.

50 For example, Exod 16:16 ومقدر ما يأكله كيلاً لكل نفس "as much of it as each man requires to eat" for ܡܫܘܚܬ ܠܡܐܟܘܠܗ ܟܝܠܐ ܠܓܒܪܐ; Lev 19:36 وميزان القسط ومكيال القسط "an honest balance, an honest weight" for ܘܡܬܩܠܐ ܕܟܐܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܟܝܠܬܐ ܕܟܐܢܘܬܐ. See Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter*, 204; Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary*, 252.

51 See Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter*, 207. *Lisān al-ʿarab* states: مكيال لأهل العراق "*mikyāl* is used by the people of Iraq"; see Muḥammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1955–1956), 5: 137.

8.2.2 *Transliterations*

In contrast to the previous examples, there are very few Syriacisms in the strict sense—i.e., words foreign to Arabic and not attested in Arabic lexicography.[52] They usually appear as transliterations of obscure realia mentioned in the Syriac source text, such as stones, plants, and animals. The approach to these items is closely related to that of proper and gentilic names, dealt with below (8.2.7). For example, **Arab^{Syr}1** exhibits no attempt to identify most of the stones in the high priest's breastplate (Exod 39:10–13). Other translations from the Syriac usually agree with medieval Syriac-Arabic lexicography, so that it appears that an established tradition for identifying them in Arabic existed. But in **Arab^{Syr}1** most them are simply represented by transliteration.[53]

> (10) ܘܡܠܝܘ ܒܗ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܣܕܪ̈ܝܢ ܕܟܐܦܐ ܣܕܪܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܣܘܡܩܬܐ
> ܘܙܪܓܐ ܘܒܪܩܐ ܣܕܪܐ ܚܕ (11) ܘܣܕܪܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܨܕ̈ܝܕܐ ܘܣܦܝܠܐ
> ܘܒܩܥܬܐ (12) ܘܣܕܪܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܩܢܟܢܘܢ ܘܩܪܟܕܢܐ ܘܥܝܢ ܥܓܠܐ (13)
> ܘܣܕܪܐ ܐܪܒܥܝܐ ܬܪܫܝܫ ܘܒܘܪܠܐ ܘܝܫܦܗ ܡܚܒܫܢ ܘܡܚܪܙܢ ܒܕܗܒܐ
> ܒܡܠܘܐܬܗܘܢ

> (10) They set in it four rows of stones. The first row was a row of ruby, topaz (*zārghā*), and emerald (*barqā*). (11) The second row: a carbuncle (*ṣadīdā*), a sapphire (*safīla*), and an amethyst (*beqʿthā*). (12) The third row: a jacinth (*qānḵenūn*), a carnelian (*qarḵednā*), and an amethyst (lit. calf's eye). (13) and the fourth row: a chrysolith (*tarshīsh*), a beryl

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52 For a comparative treatment of Hebraisms in Judaeo-Arabic translations, the reader is referred to my "Hebraisms in Arabic Versions of the Hebrew Bible," in Geoffrey Khan, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 2013), 2: 182–186.

53 **Arab^{Syr}2** translates the verses as follows: (10) فطموا عليه أربعة صفوف من الجوهر أما الصف الأول فكان من الياقوت الأحمر والفيروزج والياقوت الأصفر (11) والصف الثاني من الياقوت الأسمانجون والعقيق (12) والصف الثالث من الكركيد والماس والجزع (13) والصف الرابع من المها والبلور والماذج منظومة ملقمة قواليد ذهب. The renderings of stones usually correspond to Syriac-Arabic lexicography, as the following selected examples demonstrate; ܙܪܓܐ: Bar Bahlūl (*Lexicon syriacum*, ed. Duval, 1: 699); بجادى or أزرق. ܒܪܩܐ: Bar ʿAlī (*Syrisch-Arabische Glossen*, ed. Hoffmann, 93) الافصح لون البرق, Bar Bahlūl (*Lexicon syriacum*, ed. Duval, 1: 433) لون البرق وزعم انه الخمري الى الصفرة. ܐܣܦܝܕܐ: Bar ʿAlī (*Syrisch-Arabische Glossen*, ed. Hoffmann, 297) الكحل والاثمد واسمانجوني, Bar Bahlūl (*Lexicon syriacum*, ed. Duval, 2: 1655) الكحل والاثمد.

(*berūlā*), and a jasper (*yashfeh*). They were encircled in their mountings with frames of gold.

(10) ويعمل فيه كمثل الحجارة أربع صفوف من الحجارة أما الصف الأول ياقوت أحمر و زرجا أصفر وبرقا[54] واحد (11) والصف الآخر صديدا[55] وسفيلا ونقعثا (12) والصف الثالث قنيكون[56] وقركدنا وعين عجل (13) والصف الرابع تارشيش[57] وبرولا ويشفه وتصيب وتثبت بالذهب كلهن بالذهب سوا

In the same manner, many plant names are given in transliteration. For example, in Gen 30:14, "mandrakes"—ܝܒܪܘܚܐ in the Syriac—is represented by يبروحا.[58] In Exod 25:5, ܐܫܟܪܥܐ "acacia wood" is rendered by اشكرعا.[59] Among fauna, ܨܦܪܝܐ "a young goat" is صفرية in Lev 9:3 and صفري in Lev 9:15.

8.2.3 *Homophonic Roots*

On some occasions, the translator chose a word mainly, or even solely, due to a phonetic resemblance to the *Vorlage*. This is a common device in many biblical translation traditions.[60] In **Arab^{Syr}1**, such homophony involves non-cognate roots that share at least two radicals. In Gen 4:8 and 11:2, for example, Syriac ܦܩܥܬܐ "valley" is represented by *buqʿa* "depressed land, swamp." Two radicals are identical (/*qāf*/ and /*ʿayn*/) and the third are voiced and voiceless variants of bilabials. Cain's punishment in Gen 4:12 rendered him ܙܐܥ "trembling," *faziʿ* "frightened" in the translation, based on the presence of /*zayn*/ and /*ʿayn*/ in both words. *Barriya* "deserted land" is the preferred equivalent of Syriac ܡܕܒܪܐ "desert," which shares the letters /*bāʾ*/ and /*rāʾ*/.

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54 Sinai, MS Ar. 2 reads برقاق.

55 Sinai, MS Ar. 2 reads صكيدا.

56 Sinai, MS Ar. 2 reads قينكون.

57 Sinai, MS Ar. 2 reads بارسيس.

58 See Immanuel Löw, *Aramæische Pflanzennamen* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1881): 188–189. Bar ʿAlī (*Syrisch-Arabische Glossen*, ed. Hoffman, 167), Bar Bahlūl (*Lexicon syriacum*, ed. Duval, 1: 835), and Saadiah translates *luffāḥ*.

59 See Löw, *Aramæische Pflanzennamen*, 37–38. Bar ʿAlī (Hoffmann, *Syrisch-Arabische Glossen*, 55) and Bar Bahlūl (Duval, ed., *Lexicon syriacum*, 1: 835) give *shamshār* or *sāj*, Saadiah translates *khashab al-sanṭ*.

60 Homophony in the LXX is discussed by Tov, "Loan-words," and by James Barr, "Doubts about Homoeophony in the Septuagint," *Textus* 12 (1985): 1–77. For Judaeo-Arabic versions, see in Vollandt "Hebraisms in Arabic Versions."

8.2.4 *Islamic Vocabulary*

Arab^Syr1 exhibits a clear awareness of its historical context. Muslim literature exercised a strong influence on the translation, apparent chiefly in the use of Qurʾānic terms and expressions. The book of Leviticus, for example, frequently introduces laws with the phrase ܗܢܘ ܢܡܘܣܐ "And this is the law of . . ." This is usually rendered by *hādhihi al-sunna*, "this is the *sunna*"; i.e., the legal and ritual precedents set by previous generations, including the Prophet Muḥammad. Clean beasts are termed *ḥalāl* or *dhakī*, as can be observed in Gen 7:2–3:

(2) واحمل معك من جميع الدواب الذكية سبعة أزواج ذكور وسبعة أزواج إناث ومن الدواب التي ليست بذكية زوجين زوجين سبعة ذكور وسبعة إناث (3) ومن الطير الحلال سبعةً سبعةً ذكور وإناث ليعيشوا وتكون لهم ثمرة على وجه الأرض

> (2) Of every clean beast you shall take with you seven pairs of males and seven pairs of females; and of the beasts that are not clean two and two, each with his mate; (3) of the fowl also of the air, seven and seven, male and female; to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth.

Ḥalāl and *dhakī* are Qurʾānic designations of religious dietary purity. Moreover, **Arab^Syr1** demonstrates familiarity with Qurʾānic narratives. Noah's ark, ܩܒܘܬܐ in Syriac, is rendered by *safīna* and *fulk*, in accordance with the Qurʾān (e.g. Q 8:62; 39:14).[61] The most conspicuous examples, however, are in the Joseph narrative. Joseph's second dream (Gen 37:9) is recounted as الشمس والقمر واحد عشر كوكبًا رأيتهم لي ساجدين "the sun and the moon and eleven stars *I saw* bowing down to me" (ܘܗܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܘܣܗܪܐ ܘܚܕܥܣܪ ܟܘܟܒܝܢ ܣܓܕܝܢ ܠܝ "the sun and the moon and eleven stars bowed down to me"), which is strikingly similar to the Qurʾān's أَحَدَ عَشَرَ كَوْكَبًا وَٱلشَّمْسَ وَٱلْقَمَرَ رَأَيْتُهُمْ لِى سَٰجِدِينَ "eleven stars and the sun and the moon I saw bowing down to me" (Q 12:3). Particularly noticeable are the addition of *raʾaytuhum* and the transposition of *lī*. Joseph's garment, ܟܘܬܝܢܐ in Syriac, is rendered as *qamīṣ* "shirt," while in Gen 3:21 the same lexeme is rendered by *sarābīl* "clothing." The pit into which Joseph is cast by his brothers is *jubb* "pit" in **Arab^Syr1**, although *sijn* "prison" translates

61 See also Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary*, 171–172.

ܓܘܒܐ in Gen 40:15 and 41:14. The preference for *qamīṣ* and *jubb* in the Joseph narrative has to be understood in light of the parallels in the Qurʾān, which use those words.[62]

8.2.5 *Alternative Translations*

A well known phenomenon in Biblical translations is the representation of a unit in the source text by two or even three lexical equivalents in the target language.[63] Usually these alternatives consist of single words, although larger units, such as phrases or entire clauses, can be found as well. They emerge from the translator's intention to capture the semantic dimension of the source text by providing different appropriate equivalents and are not always free of an implicit or explicit interpretation. As has already been mentioned above, alternative translations are a prominent feature of Judaeo-Arabic translation technique, early non-Saadianic (see Chapter 3.5.1) and Qaraite alike.[64] They likewise occur in Arabic versions of the Bible of Syriac provenance (see Chapter 3.2).[65] It is therefore not surprising that **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$**1**, too, exhibits examples. The alternative renderings are generally placed in sequence and strung together by the conjunctions *wa-* or *fa-*. *Aw* is attested as well, though sporadically. In larger syntactic contexts, the repetition of parts that do not

62 Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, too, alludes to the Qurʾānic narrative, as already noted by Adolf Schmiedl, "Randbemerkungen zu Saadia's Pentateuchübersetzung," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 45 (1901): 124–129; 46 (1901): 84–88, 358–363; 47 (1902): 149–153, at 45:127–128; and by David M. Freidenreich, "The Use of Islamic Sources in Saadiah Gaon's 'Tafsīr' of the Torah," *JQR* 93 (2003): 353–395. On Saadiah's tendency to use Islamic terms, see Moshe Zucker, *Rav Saadya Gaon's Translation*, 274–276; Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 174.

63 Alternative translations in the Peshiṭta were discussed by Jan Joosten, "Doublet Translations in Peshitta Proverbs," in P. B. Dirksen and Arie van der Kooij, eds., *The Peshitta as a Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 63–72; and by Heidi M. Szpek, *Translation Technique of the Peshitta to Job: A Model for Evaluating a Text with Documentation from the Peshitta to Job* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992): 153–160. For the Targum, see Michael L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986), 1: xxxi; and for the Septuagint, Zipora Talshir, "Double Translations in the Septuagint," in Claude E. Cox, ed., *VI Congress of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem, 1986* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987): 21–63.

64 In addition to the examples adduced above, the reader is referred to Chapter 3.5.1 for early non-Saadianic traditions. See also Polliack, "Alternative Renderings and Additions;" idem, *The Karaite Tradition*, 181–199.

65 **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$**2**, too, employs alternative translations in abundance. See the examples in Chapter 3.2 and Georg Graf, "Die arabische Pentateuchübersetzung in cod. Monac. ar. 234," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 15 (1919/21): 97–115, 193–212, 291–300, on 194–201.

present a difficulty is avoided by the use of pronominal suffixes. For example, in Gen 22:12 ܠܐ ܬܘܫܛ ܐܝܕܟ ܥܠ ܛܠܝܐ "Lay not your hand on the lad" is translated by لا تبسط يدك على الغلام ولا تمسه "Lay not your hand on the lad *and do not touch him*."

Whereas some alternatives simply provide synonymous translation equivalents, others strive to reproduce nuances in meaning and thus correspond to Syriac polysemes. Another category exhibits a literal rendering—often in the form of a cognate—alongside a rendering by a periphrastic and idiomatic Arabic term. Occasionally, the alternative rendering pertains to the translator's interpretation and reflects an exegetical element.

Synonymous alternatives

In some cases, the alternatives are almost identical in meaning and may be considered synonyms. For example, ܡܛܠ ܕܡܬܪܓܪܓܘ ܐܬܪܓܪܓܬ ܠܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܟ "because you longed for the house of your father" (Gen 31:30) is rendered by لأنك شهوة اشتهيت واشتقت إلى بيت أبيك "because you *longed for and desired* the house of your father." The verbal forms *ishtahayta* and *ishtaqta*, referring to Jacob's motivation for leaving Laban, are close synonyms and capture the *Vorlage* with no significant semantic difference. The only difference is structural; the use of *shahwa* involves an internal accusative, which imitates the Syriac construction.

Alternatives that reflect polysemes

Alternative translations may also indicate different denotations of the Syriac source word; the multiple renderings attempt to convey its semantic range. Gen 6:5 recounts how the malicious deeds of mankind caused God to regret his creation. The equivalents used for Syriac ܒܝܫܬܐ "evil, bad" are *sharr* "malevolence, evil" and *sayyāt* (< Classical Arabic *sayyi'āt*) "bad deeds, sins": أن سيات الناس قد كثرت على البشر وكثر شرهم "that the sins of man had multiplied among human kind *and their evil nature increased*" for ܕܣܓܝܬ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ. The renderings differ in whether to understand ܒܝܫܬܐ in this verse as referring to the "evil" in human nature (*sharr*) or to the specific "sins" (*sayyāt*) they committed. It appears that the use of two alternatives in this verse was prompted by the particular textual context in the Syriac *Vorlage*. Similarly, in the account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, وقد اشتدت خطيتهم وكثرت "and their [the residents'] sins have become grievous *and increased in number*" (Gen 18:20) renders ܘܚܛܗܝܗܘܢ ܛܒ ܝܩܪܘ "and

their sins have become exceedingly grievous." The alternatives correspond to the different meanings of Syriac ܣܓܝ, which may designate amplification in both the qualitative and quantitative senses.

Cognate versus non-cognate alternatives

A further category of alternative translations provides a literal rendering alongside a rendering by an idiomatic Arabic term. Often cognate and non-cognate equivalents are juxtaposed. For example, the curse pronounced on the snake ܗܘ ܢܕܘܫ ܪܫܟ "it shall tread upon your head" (Gen 3:15) is translated by وهو يطأ رأسك فيدوسه "it shall *tread upon* your head and it shall *trample on* it." In terms of meaning, the alternatives are synonymous. Yet whereas Arabic *yadūs* is cognate to ܢܕܘܫ, *yaṭāʾ* "to tread something under one's foot" is semantically closer. This habit is also illustrated by Lot's statement (Gen 19:19), ܕܠܡܐ ܬܕܪܟܢܝ ܒܝܫܬܐ "lest the evil *overtake me*," rendered as لعل الشر يسبقني فيدركني "lest the evil overcome me *and overtake m*e." Again, the second equivalent is cognate to the translated word in the source text.

Implicit or explicit interpretation

A very few alternative translations reflect an implicit or explicit interpretation of the text. They are not prompted by a wish to represent a certain linguistic difficulty, but instead depart from the plain sense of the source text to interpret it. A good example is found in Gen 18:12, where أكون شابة أو يكون لي ولداً "I shall *be young or I will have a child*" represents Sarah's exclamation ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܥܠܝܡܘܬܐ "*youth* shall be for me." The first equivalent presents an almost literal translation of the *Vorlage*. The second, by contrast, offers on interpretation of the phrase in the context of the narrative that follows.

8.2.6 *Lexical Consistency*

Lexical consistency—or as it is sometimes called, stereotyping—describes the tendency of a translator to make consistent use of the same term in the target language to render a term in the source language. As mentioned above (Chapter 7), this habit is prominent in translations that serve a didactic purpose, such as a school setting, and therefore require a high degree of formulaic equivalence. It is prompted by the desire to remain as faithful as possible to the source text so that pupils can back-translate from the target language.

It has already become apparent in the many examples cited above that **Arab$^{\mathbf{Syr1}}$** is *not* consistent in the lexical choice of translation equivalents.

Cognate and non-cognate equivalents exist side by side. The choice of terms often depends on the context and may reflect a rendering that specifies the meaning. The renderings alternate, even though they represent a single lexeme in the source text. That there is no internal consistency can also be seen in the translation of doublets in the *Vorlage*, which exhibit the exact same wording in recurring passages in the *Vorlage*. ܠܐ ܐܚܒܠ "I shall not destroy [the city]," for example, is found as لا أهلكهم in Gen 18:28, yet appears as لا أفسدهم in the preceding verse. The phrase ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܡܠ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡܩܕܡܬܡܠ "as yesterday and the day before," is rendered كما كان بالأمس وقبل ذلك "as yesterday and the day before that" in Gen 31:2, كمثل ماكان بالأمس وقبله "as it was yesterday and before" in Gen 31:5 and كأمس وأول منه "as yesterday and a day before" in Exod 5:7.

8.2.7 *Names*

Names of God

ܡܪܝܐ, ܐܠܗܐ, and ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ

ܐܠܗܐ, "God," and ܡܪܝܐ, "the Lord" are both rendered by الله. By contrast, the compound form ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ is consistently found as الله ربنا "God, our Lord." There is nevertheless a tendency to retain the original meaning of ܡܪܝܐ by translating it رب, when used in the vocative. This is illustrated by the following examples:

Gen 49:18	لخلاصك أنشد يا رب	ܠܦܘܪܩܢܟ ܣܟܝܬ ܡܪܝܐ
Exod 4:10	أنا أطلب منك يا رب	ܒܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܢܟ ܡܪܝ

The word رب is also used for ܡܪܝܐ when directed to humans. In Gen 18:2 the angels, perceived as humans by Abraham, are addressed as *yā rabb*. Rebecca greets Abraham's servant with the same words in Gen 24. A similar specification that ܡܪܝܐ refers to humans is made by employing سيد.

Gen 18:2	وقال يا رب	ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ
Gen 23:6	اسمع يا سيدنا	ܫܡܥܢ ܡܪܢ
Gen 24:18	فقالت له اشرب يا رب	ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ ܐܫܬܝ ܡܪܝ

ܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ and ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ "the Most High God" is translated literally as الله العلي. It is habitually followed by a supplementary epithet not found in the source text, which emphasizes his reign in the heavens and on earth. The appellation recalls Qurʾānic usage, as for example in Q 22:62, 31:30, and 40:12.[66] Likewise, for ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ "the Everlasting God," the Qurʾānic الله رب العالمين "God, Lord of the worlds" (Q 1:1, 2:131, 5:28, 6:45, 6:71, etc.) is employed.[67]

Gen 14:20	الله العلي الذي له السما و له والأرض	ܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܝܡܐ
Gen 21:33	الله رب العالمين	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

ܐܠܫܕܝ, ܐܠܘܗܝܡ, ܐܝܠ and, ܐܗܝܐ ܐܫܪ ܐܗܝܐ

The remaining names of God are simply presented in transliteration. Compare, for example:

Gen 6:2	الوهيم	ܐܠܘܗܝܡ
Gen 17:1	ايلشدي	ܐܠܫܕܝ
Gen 33:22	ايل	ܐܝܠ[68]
Exod 3:14	أهيا شراهي	ܐܗܝܐ ܐܫܪ ܐܗܝܐ

Poetical Epithets

Poetical epithets of God are translated literally.

Gen 49:24	عزيز يعقوب	ܥܫܝܢܐ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ
	حاجز إسرايل	ܕܟܐܦܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܝܠ

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66 In Q 42:4 the attribute *al-ʿalī* is found in combination with a reference to God's reign in heaven and on earth: لَهُۥ مَا فِى ٱلسَّمَٰوَٰتِ وَمَا فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ وَهُوَ ٱلْعَلِىُّ ٱلْعَظِيمُ.

67 رب العالمين is also employed in Yefet ben ʿElī's translations; see the examples in Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 305.

68 As a theophoric element, ايل also occurs in place names, e.g. بيت ايل = ܒܝܬ ܐܝܠ (Gen 12:8, 13:3, 28:19, 31:13, et passim) and in person's names, including محوايل = ܡܚܘܝܐܝܠ (Gen 4:18) and بتوابل = ܒܬܘܐܝܠ (Gen 22:22, 23; 24:15, 24, 47, et passim).

Names of Persons

Arabicized Name

The names of biblical characters who are prominent in Muslim literature as well are commonly given in their Arabicized form. Proper nouns such as آدم (ܐܕܡ), هابيل (ܗܒܝܠ), نوح (ܢܘܚ), ابرهيم (ܐܒܪܗܡ), اسحق (ܐܝܣܚܩ/ܝܣܚܩ), موسى, (ܡܘܫܐ) and هرون (ܐܗܪܘܢ) are amply attested in the Qurʾān. Further, works related to the genre of *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*/*Isrāʾīliyāt* furnish names less frequent in Muslim literature. For example, the form قاين = ܩܐܝܢ, in contrast to the Qurʾānic قابيل, is found in Ibn Hishām's *Kitāb al-tījān*.[69] Many of the Arabicized names in the translation of the list of Adam's descendants (Gen 5) are used in that treatise or other works, including those of Wahb ibn Munabbih.[70] It can be observed, as the examples of أخنوخ = ܚܢܘܟ and لامك = ܠܡܟ demonstrate, that these names are often preferred to a representation of the original Syriac form in transcription. This feature is common in other Christian-Arabic translations of Syriac provenance, as well as some early non-Saadianic Judaeo-Arabic traditions.[71]

Gen 5:3	شيث	ܫܝܬ[72]
Gen 5:9	قينان	ܩܝܢܢ[73]

69 See ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-Tījān fī mulūk Ḥimyar ʿan Wahb ibn Munabbih riwāyat Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām ʿan Asad ibn Mūsā ʿan Abī Idrīs ibn Sinān ʿan Wahb ibn Munabbih* (Hyderabad: Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dåirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmānīyah, 1928).

70 On Wahb ibn Munabbih's use of biblical material, see Raif Georges Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, 214–216.

71 For the Christian-Arabic translation, see *GCAL* 1: 164. CUL, MS T-S Ar. 27.29 represents חנוך as Idrīs (fol. 1r, line 3).

72 Compare the statement by ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tījān*, 19: شيث اسم عبراني وتفسيره باللسان العربي خلف وشايث باللسان السرياني "Shīt is his name in Hebrew and the Arabic translation is *khalaf* 'replacer' and Shāyth in Syriac."

73 Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tījān*, 21: قينان عبراني تفسيره باللسان العربي مشتري وكذلك اسمه بالسرياني "Qaynān is his name in Hebrew and the Arabic translation is mushtarī 'trader' and thus is his name in Syriac."

Original Syriac form in Arabic transcription

Names not found in the Muslim tradition are normally given in Arabic transcription, e.g. ܠܒܢ as لابان and ܪܚܝܠ as راحيل. As can be seen in these examples, there is a tendency to reproduce a long /ā/ with an *alīf*. In women's names, the final long /ā/ is likewise represented by this letter: ܥܕܐ / عدا, ܨܠܐ / صلا, ܪܦܩܐ / رفقا or ܠܝܐ/ليا. This habit may reflect an East-Syriac pronunciation. The form عاسو, in which the long /ē/—the Syriac exhibits ܥܣܘ <*ʿĒsaw*>—is likewise rendered by an *alīf*.[74] Not all forms, however, are presented in a strict phonetic transcription. ܝܒܠ (Gen 4:20) and ܝܘܒܠ (Gen 4:21) are given as يبل and يوبل, a mere transliteration of the Syriac. A strict phonetic transcription would require يابال and يوبال, as found in **Arab^{Syr}2**.

Exod 1:3	زابلون	ܙܒܘܠܘܢ
Exod 1:4	ونفثالي	ܢܦܬܠܝ

Gentilic Names

For gentilic names, the translator has two options: contemporary Arabic names, which require identification of the Syriac forms in the political setting of the translator's culture, or transcription. While other translation traditions, including Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, show a preference for the first option, **Arab^{Syr}1** adheres to the latter. No attempt was made to identify the various peoples in the list of nations (Gen 10). The name ܐܬܘܪܝܐ "the Assyrians" (v. 11), for example, is rendered as الاثوري. In Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, **Arab^{Syr}2**, and Muslim geographical literature, ܐܬܘܪܝܐ are, by contrast, habitually associated with the city of Mosul.[75] Further, the ܓܪܓܫܝܐ "the Girgashites" of v. 16 and ܥܪܩܝܐ "the Arqites" of v. 17 are given as الجرجاساين and العرقاين. It appears that these forms reflect a hybrid of the Syriac gentilic ending *-āye* and the Arabic plural *–īna*.

74 For this feature in transcriptions of the Hebrew Bible, see Khan, *Karaite Bible Manuscripts*, 8 and 12.

75 In Gen 24:14, Saadiah (see *Œuvres complètes*, eds. Derenbourg, Derenbourg, and Lambert, 1: 7), Yefet ben ʿElī (see Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 305), and Samaritan traditions (see "The Arabic Translation," 1:8–9) translate Ashur as *al-Mawṣul*, Mosul. Yeshuʿah ben Judah (see Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 307) and **Arab^{Syr}2** bring *al-Mawṣul* as an alternative rendering. See also Yāqūt's geographical dictionary: *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch: aus den Handschriften zu Berlin, St. Petersburg und Paris*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1866–1873), 1: 119.

Exceptions are ܡܨܪ̈ܝܢ "Egypt/ the Egyptians" and ܦܠܫܬܝܐ "the Philistines." Although they are given in transcription (مصرايم and فلشتايين) in the list of nations, the later narrative uses مصر or فلسطين.

Gen 21:32	الى أرض فلسطين	ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܦܠܫܬܝܐ
Exod 1:4	في أرض مصر	ܒܡܨܪ̈ܝܢ
Exod 1:13	أهل مصر	ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ

Toponyms

For toponyms, the translational choice is similar to that for gentilic names. Again, a clear preference for transcription over the identification of the contemporary geographical location can be detected. ܥܙܐ (Gen 10:19 and Deut 2:23), which in other traditions is identified as the coastal town of غزة "Gaza," is referred to as عازا. Although often rendered by the Arabic بحر القلزم in other translation traditions, Syriac ܝܡܐ ܕܣܘܦ "the Red Sea" (e.g. Exod 10:19) remains بحر السوف in **Arab^Syr1**. There are, however, exceptions:

Gen 2:14 واسم الثالث دجلة وهو الذي يذهب قبل أثور واسم النهر الرابع الفرات

ܘܫܡܗ ܕܢܗܪܐ ܕܬܠܬܐ ܕܩܠܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܙܠ ܠܡܕܢܚ ܐܬܘܪ ܘܢܗܪܐ ܕܐܪܒܥܐ ܗܘ ܦܪܬ

Exod 1:11	عين شمس	ܪܥܡܣܣ

In addition, place names with a meaning are occasionally translated.[76]

Gen 18:1	في بلوط ممرى	ܒܠܘܛܐ ܕܡܡܪܐ

76 This feature in translation technique is also salient in Judaeo-Arabic translations; see Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 206. Some traditions extend it to personal names, e.g. ראובן/ *nāẓr*, שמעון/ *samīʿ al-ṭāʿa*, לוי/ *ʿāṭf*, יהודה/*shākir*, in early non-Saadianic translations. See Tobi, "Translations of Personal Names". There are also examples in the Old Samaritan translation into Arabic: מהללאל/*mussabiḥ* or מתושלח/*mabʿūth*; see Shehadeh "The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch," 510–511.

Gen 16:14	بير الحي ورأى	ܒܪܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܚܙܐ
Gen 31:47	رابية الشهادة	ܝܓܪܐ ܕܣܗܕܘܬܐ

8.2.8 *The Lexical Representation of Anthropomorphisms*

The replacement of humanizing depictions of the Deity, motivated by theological concerns, is a common feature of many biblical translations, notably the Aramaic Targumim and Judaeo-Arabic versions.[77] In Num 20:24, אֲשֶׁר־מְרִיתֶם אֶת־פִּי לְמֵי מְרִיבָה "because you rebelled against my word [*lit.* my mouth] at the waters of Meribah," God's mouth is rendered as *amrī* "my command" by Saadiah and by Qaraite translators.

Arab^{Syr1}, however, seems an exception in this matter. Anthropomorphisms are usually translated literally: God possesses human body parts, including hands and arms (فأجعل يدي "and I will lay my *hand*" for ܘܐܬܠ ܐܝܕܝ in Exod 7:4 or وأرفعكم بيد شديدة وذراع رفيع "and I will lead you forth with a strong *hand* and a raised *arm*" for ܘܐܦܪܘܩܟܘܢ ܒܐܝܕܐ ܥܫܝܢܬܐ ܘܒܕܪܥܐ ܪܡܐ in Exod 6:6), fingers (مكتوبين باصابع الله "written upon with the *finger* of God" for ܟܬܝܒܢ ܒܨܒܥܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ in Exod 31:18), mouth (فم الله "the *mouth* of God" for ܒܦܘܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ in Exod 17:1) and heart (فقال الله في قلبه "and God said to his *heart"* for ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܠܒܗ in Gen 8:21). Furthermore, God's feelings and actions are described in human categories. He hears (وسمع كربهم "And God *heard* their groaning" for ܘܫܡܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܚܬܗܘܢ in Exod 2:24), sees (فنزل الله لينظر "And God came down to *see*" for ܘܢܚܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܚܙܐ in Gen 11:5), smells (فأنشا الله "and God *smelled*" for ܘܐܪܝܚ ܡܪܝܐ in Gen 8:21), walks (يمشي في الجنة "he *walks* in the garden" for ܡܗܠܟ ܒܦܪܕܝܣܐ in Gen 3:8), finds delight (فسر الله بهابيل "and God *found delight* in Abel" for ܘܐܨܛܒܝ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܗܒܝܠ in Gen 4:4), is sad (فأسف الله "and God *was saddened*" for ܘܐܬܬܘܝ ܡܪܝܐ in Gen 6:6), and grows angry (واشتد غضب الله "and the *anger* of God was kindled" for ܘܐܬܚܡܬ ܪܘܓܙܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ in Exod 4:14).

8.2.9 *Summary*

It has been observed that **Arab**^{Syr1} uses cognates regularly, yet no transfer of meanings of Syriac words and constructions to their Arabic equivalents, dis-

77 See Michael Klein, *Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Targumim of the Pentateuch: with Parallel Citations from the Septuagint* (Jerusalem: Maqor, 1982) (Hebrew); Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 177–178.

regarding Classical Arabic idiom, was detected. The appearance of cognates is throughout conditioned by Classical Arabic usage and, what is more, has precedents in Classical Arabic lexicography. Cognates are not employed mechanically and exist side by side with semantic equivalents, which often constitute the majority. Syriacisms occur to a very limited extent in the form of transliteration of obscure stones, plants, and animals.

The choice of translation equivalents is not consistent and varies according to the context. Alternative translations are attested, composed of sets of (usually) two translations for one unit in the source text. These serve to convey different degrees of semantic relations, e.g. synonymous alternatives, alternatives that reflect polysemes, cognate versus non-cognate alternatives, or implicit or explicit interpretation. A characteristic phenomenon involves the use of Islamic or specifically Qurʾānic vocabulary. The examples—characters found in biblical narratives who also appear in the Qurʾān, epithets of God or proper names—illustrate the strong influence of the translator's cultural environment. They also represent almost conscious intertextual allusions to the Qurʾān, the revealed text of the majority religion.

The transcription of proper names attests to the East-Syriac provenance of the translation, since its reflects an East-Syriac pronunciation. That **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$**1** emerged in Iraq is also indicated by the fact that كُرّ is used to render Syriac ܟܘܪ, a form that, according to Arabic lexicographers, was used exclusively in Iraq.

It could further be discerned that the translation equivalents in **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$**1** lack an extratextual dimension, such as a debt to contemporary traditions of scriptural interpretation. Rare stones, plants, and animals are simply transliterated, rather than relying on East-Syriac exegetical traditions for their identification, of the sort found in the Syro-Arabic dictionaries of Īshōʿ bar ʿAlī (d. 1001), Ḥasan bar Bahlūl, and Elias bar Shināyā (see Chapter 2.3) or **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$**2**. The same applies to gentilic names. Again, **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$**1** as a rule does not reflect these traditions, but uses transcription. Theological concerns, such as the avoidance of anthropomorphisms, also seem to be absent. One of the characteristics of the general strategy of **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$**1** may therefore be described as staying on the intratextual level.

8.3 Particles

We now turn to the translational approach of **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$**1** with regard to particles, including the accusative markers ܝܬ and -ܠ, the particle of being ܐܝܬ, particles of similitude, the particle of possession -ܕܝܠ, and the particle ܗܐ. Finally, there is a section on prepositions.

8.3.1 *The Accusative Marker* ܝܬ

The accusative marker ܝܬ is rare in biblical Syriac. It already puzzled later Syriac exegetes, who no longer understood its meaning. Mar Ephrem, for example, explains in his commentary ܝܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܩܢܘܡܗ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܩܢܘܡܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ: ܝܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ, “the *essence* of the heavens and the *essence* of the earth.”[78] Following this interpretation, the anonymous *Catena* on the Pentateuch, published by de Lagarde, has في البدى خلق الله ذات السماء وذات الأرض.[79] Judaeo-Arabic translations, too, frequently translate the Hebrew accusative marker את. Early non-Saadianic translations render it by Arabic *iyā* (see above, Chapter 3.5.1). This usage is alien to Classical Arabic, which restricts *iyā* to pronominal objects, which are either fronted before the verb or coordinated with another pronominal object.[80] It does occur in Qaraite translations, such as that by Salmon ben Yerūḥīm,[81] and in David al-Fāsī’s dictionary.[82] Later traditions employ Arab. *ilā* “towards,”[83] though a few retained *iyā*.[84]

Lacking an equivalent in Classical Arabic, however, ܝܬ is as rule left untranslated in **Arab^Syr1**.

78 See *In Genesim et in Exodum commentarii*, ed. Raymond Tonneau (Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1955), 1: 8.

79 Paul de Lagarde, *Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1867), 1: 4.

80 William Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 1: 103; 2: 69, 326.

81 See Marwick, *The Arabic Commentary of Salmon ben Yeruham*, 4, 14, and 30.

82 David ben Abraham Alfasi, *The Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of the Bible: known as Kitāb Jāmiʿ al-Alfāẓ* (*Agrōn*), ed. Solomon Leon Skoss (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1936/45), 1: 167, 246.

83 For North-African *sharḥ*, see Bar-Asher, “The Sharḥ of the Maghreb,” 7 n26. For Egyptian sharḥ, see Benjamin H. Hary, *Translating Religion: Linguistic Analysis of Judaeo-Arabic Sacred Texts from Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 2009): 257–264. For Eastern *sharḥ*, see Haim Blanc, “Notes on the literary idiom of the Baghdadi Jews,” in Lucy S. Dawidowicz, ed., *For Max Weinreich on his Seventieth Birthday: Studies in Jewish Languages, Literature and Society* (The Hague: Mouton, 1964): 18-30, on 28; Yitzhaq Avishur, “Translations of the Old Testament into Judaeo-Arabic in Iraq,” *Studies in the History and Culture of Iraqi Jewry* 6 (1991): 139–165, on 196 (in Hebrew).

84 See Hary, *Translating Religion*, 238–239. On Issachar ben-Susan’s adaptation of Saadiah’s translation, see David Doron, “Le-darkhe ha-targum shel millit “ʾet” be-al-sharḥ al-sūsānī li-khamsat (a)jzāʿ al-tawrah,” in Jacob Mansour, ed., *Arabic and Islamic Studies*, 2 vols. (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1978), 1: 9–25 (Hebrew)).

Gen 1:1 إن أول ما خلق اللهُ السما والأرضَ

ܒܪܫܝܬ ܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܝܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ

8.3.2 *The Accusative Marker* ܠ-

In biblical Syriac, the object—especially when human—is sometimes preceded by the particle ܠ-. Although this approach is imitated in Christian-Arabic translations, **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr1}}$ does not mirror this usage as a rule.[85]

Gen 21:8 ونظرت سارة ابن هاجر المصرية ܘܚܙܬ ܣܪܐ ܠܒܪ ܗܓܪ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ

8.3.3 *The Particle of Being* ܐܝܬ

In a similar manner, the existential particle ܐܝܬ is not reflected in translation. In its meaning "exists, there is" it is usually omitted (e.g. Gen 1:30, 6:17, 8:9, 18:24, 19:8, 24:36, 31:32; 33:11; Exod 2:16, and 4:25).[86] When it indicates possession (= ܐܝܬ ܠ-), the Arabic preposition *li-* is used. Where the context requires the perfect tense, ܐܝܬ is rendered by *kāna* + *li-*. A special case is the Syriac construction ܟܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܠ-. In this phrase, شي functions as a paraphrase of ܐܝܬ.

Gen 20:7 وكل شي لك ܘܟܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟ

Gen 32:34 وكل شي كان له ܟܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ

8.3.4 *The Particles of Similitude* ܐܝܟ, ܐܟܘܬ*, and* ܐܝܟܢܐ

Biblical Syriac exhibits a variety of modes to convey the idea of similitude and comparison. A clear distinction can be made between the indication of resemblance of nominal forms, on the one hand, and of verbal forms in comparative clauses, on the other. Whereas ܐܟܘܬ and ܐܝܟ are used in the first context, ܐܝܟ ܕ- and ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕ- prevail in the latter. This distinction is closely reflected in the translation.

85 See Georg Graf, *Der Sprachgebrauch der ältesten christlich-arabischen Literatur: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vulgär-Arabisch* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1905): 42–43; Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 417–418.

86 Some Judaeo-Arabic translations render the Hebrew cognate יֵשׁ by means of *aysa*; e.g. early non-Saadianic and Qaraite traditions. See Skoss, *The Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary*, 1: 72; Joshua Blau, "On a Fragment," 31–39, on 32–33; Polliack, *The Karaite Tradition*, 174. Classical Arabic has only the etymologically related negative form *laysa* (<*lā aysa**, cf. Aram. *layṯ*) "not to exist."

Nominal forms

In nominal contexts, the simile is constructed using *ka-*, *mithl*, or *ka-mithl*. Where a pronominal suffix is found in the source text as the object of resemblance, *mithl* is the preferred translation. This is illustrated by ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܟܘܬܝ in Gen 44:15, which is rendered as رجلاً مثلي "a man as I."

Gen 22:17 كلكواكب السما ومثل الرمل الذي على ساحل البحر

ܐܝܟ ܟܘܟܒܝ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܚܠܐ ܕܥܠ ܣܦܬܗ ܕܝܡܐ

Exod 4:6 فإذا هي بيضا مثل الثلج

ܘܗܐ ܐܝܕܗ ܡܚܘܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܬܠܓܐ

Comparative clauses

Lexically related is the use of ܐܝܟ ܕ- and -ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕ to compare the content of the following subordinate clause to a preceding action. The translation generally employs the conjunctions *kamā* and *mithl mā* to express this relationship.

Gen 7:9 اثنين اثنين دخل مع نوح في الفلك ذكور وإناث كما أمر الله نوحًا

ܬܪܝܢ ܥܠܘ ܥܡ ܢܘܚ ܠܩܒܘܬܐ ܕܟܪܐ ܘܢܩܒܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕ
ܠܢܘܚ ܐܠܗܐ

Exod 7:10 فدخل موسى وهرون على فرعون وقالا كما أوصاهما الله

ܘܐܬܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܗܪܘܢ ܠܘܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܝܟܢ
ܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܦܩܕ

A different kind of comparative clause, indicating a quantitative correspondence, uses ܗܟܢܐ… ܘܟܡܐ. In contrast to the examples above, *kullama* is found in this context.

Exod 1:12 فكانوا كلما اشتد تعبدهم كانوا يكثروا

ܘܟܡܐ ܕܗܘܢ ܡܫܥܒܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܣܓܝܢ ܗܘܘ

8.3.5 *The Particle of Possession -ܕܝܠ*

The marker of possession -ܕܝܠ is as a rule omitted in the translation. Arabic suffixed possessive pronouns or the preposition *li-* are used instead.

Gen 23:9 فليعطني مغارته الثانية ܘܢܬܠ ܠܝ ܡܥܪܬܐ ܐܟܦܦܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ

Gen 31:43 وكل ما ترى فإنه لي ܘܟܠ ܕܚܙܐ ܐܢܬ ܕܝܠܝ ܗܘ

8.3.6 *The Particle* ܗܐ

The interjection ܗܐ is used for demonstrative, presentative, and affirmative purposes and is found in adverbial expressions of time. Used to translate biblical Hebrew -הֲ and הֲלֹא, it very rarely indicates a real or rhetorical question. Since there are no parallel Arabic lexical equivalent and syntactical structure to imitate the different meanings of the Syriac, it is translated according to its function in the context.

ܗܐ *rendered by a demonstrative*

When ܗܐ introduces a nominal clause, the translator often took it as a demonstrative and employed Arabic demonstratives.

Gen 11:6 وقال الله هذا شعب واحد ولسان واحد

ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܗܐ ܥܡܐ ܚܕ ܘܠܫܢܐ ܚܕ

Gen 19:8 هاتين ابنتي

ܗܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܒܢܢ

Exod 3:4 فأجاب موسى وقال هاأناذا

ܘܐܡܪ ܡܘܫܐ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ

ܗܐ *= idhā /idhā bi*

Again primarily in nominal clauses, ܗܐ is rendered as *idhā* or *idhā bi*. This translation reflects its presentative connotation, "and then, Behold!…," and introduces an unforeseen, sudden turn in the narrative.

Gen 33:1 ورفع يعقوب عينيه فإذا بعاسو مقبل

ܘܐܪܝܡ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܘܚܙܐ ܘܗܐ ܥܫܘ

Exod 4:6 ثم أخرجها من جيبه فإذا هي بيضا

ܘܐܦܩܗ ܘܗܐ ܐܝܕܗ ܡܚܘܪܐ

ܗܐ conveying an affirmative or emphatic mood in verbal clauses

When it precedes verbal clauses, ܗܐ is perceived as giving a special emphasis or affirmation to an action and is rendered in various ways. At times, the particle *qad* is added to the inflected verb. In Classical Arabic this indicates that an action has “indeed, really” already happened, as opposed to what was expected.[87] For example, in Gen 3:22, ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܐ ܐܕܡ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܕ ܡܢܢ “And the Lord God said, ‘Behold, the man has become as one of us’ ” is translated as وقال الله ربنا إن آدم قد صار كواحد منا. The particle *qad* functions as a marker that man has “*now indeed*” become like god, despite the previous prohibition in the narrative. Further examples of *qad* as a translation equivalent of ܗܐ are:

Gen 4:14 وقد أخرجتني اليوم عن وجه الأرض

ܗܐ ܐܦܩܬܢܝ ܝܘܡܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܦܝ ܐܪܥܐ

Gen 8:13 و رأى أن وجه الأرض قد جف

ܘܚܙܐ ܘܗܐ ܢܓܒ ܐܦܝ ܐܪܥܐ

Also very common is the emphasis of the verb by the preceding particle *inna* “verily!,” both freestanding and with a pronominal suffix. Occasionally, the emphasis is intensified by prefixing *la* to the verb.

Gen 20:3 وقال له إنك لميت في سبب المرأة

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܐ ܡܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܥܠ ܐܦܝ ܐܢܬܬܐ

Exod 4:23 فإني أقتل ابنك بكرك

ܗܐ ܩܛܠ ܐܢܐ ܠܒܪܟ ܒܘܟܪܟ

Adverbial expression of time

Qad is used in adverbial expressions of time.

Gen 31:38 قد كنت معك عشرين سنة ܗܐ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܥܡܟ ܐܢܐ

87 Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 1: 286.

ܗܐ as an interrogative

Unlike biblical Hebrew, Syriac does not distinguish between real and rhetorical questions. In both instances, ܗܐ is used. Although the Arabic language provides two equivalents for its translation, namely the interrogative particles *a* and *hal* (see 8.1.5), they are not employed in such contexts. What is more, the interrogative function of ܗܐ is not reflected in the translation at all. In general, the particle is understood as an emphasis, similar to the examples discussed above and rendered as such. To render real questions the demonstrative *hā* is used:

Gen 3:11 التي نهيتك عنها هالقد أكلت من الشجرة

ܗܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܦܩܕܬܟ ܕܠܐ ܬܐܟܘܠ ܡܢܗ ܐܟܠܬ

Rhetorical questions are consistently translated in the affirmative by using *inna* "certainly, surely."

Gen 20:5 إنه أنبأني أنها أخته ܗܐ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܚܬܝ ܗܝ

Gen 40:7 إن تأويلها من عند الله ܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܦܘܫܩܐ

8.3.7 *Prepositions*

Syriac prepositions are usually rendered by their Arabic cognates: ܒ/ *bi* and *fī*, ܠ and ܠܘܬ/ *li* and *ilā*, ܥܠ/ *ʿalā*, ܬܚܝܬ/ *taḥta*, ܒܝܬ/ *bayna*, ܡܢ/ *min*, ܥܡ/ *maʿ*, ܩܕܡ/ *quddām*. The employment of these obvious translation equivalents is, however, far from stereotypical. They are often avoided for the sake of another non-cognate preposition. Syriac prepositions are polysemes and can have a variety of meanings according to the context. Although the most frequent meaning of ܠܘܬ is "towards," it may designate a local proximity to someone or something (= "at, with"). For example, in Gen 49:29, ܩܒܘܪܘܢܝ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܗܝ̈ it is understood in that way and rendered by *ʿinda* "at, with": واقبر و ني عند اباي "bury me with my fathers." Similarly, in Gen 33:15, ܐܫܒܘܩ ܠܘܬܟ is translated as فادع معك "Let me now leave with you," using the preposition *maʿ* "with." Yet another meaning of ܠܘܬ is "in front of," which is reflected in the rendering of ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ in Exod 3:6 as قِبَل الله "before God" or ܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ "in front of Pharaoh" in Exod 8:8 as من قدام فرعون. In like manner, the translation of ܥܠ, commonly bearing the sense of "on, upon," can differ. In Gen 3:16, ܘܥܠ ܒܥܠܟܝ ܬܬܦܢܝܢ, rendered as والى بعلك تردين "and unto your husband you shall return," it signifies "to, unto" and is thus represented by *ilā*. ܥܠ is also

frequently used to indicate a cause: "on account of, concerning." For example, in Gen 20:2 ܥܠ ܣܪܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ the conjunction *min ajli* (من أجل سارة "on account of Sarah") is found. A similar meaning of ܥܠ seems to be the intention of شأن الغلام "concerning the lad" for ܥܠ ܛܠܝܐ in Gen 21:12 and في سبب بير "on account of the well" for ܥܠ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܒܐܪܐ in Gen 21:25.

Where Classical Arabic usage prescribes the employment of a different preposition, Syriac cognates are as a rule avoided. As illustrated by وسلطوا على سمك البحر "have dominion over the fish of the sea" for ܘܫܠܛܘ ܒܢܘܢܐ ܕܝܡܐ (Gen 1:28), Arabic calls for the preposition *ʿalā* following the verb *sallaṭa*. *Bi* as a cognate of ܒ is consequently avoided. In Gen 4:17 ܘܩܪܐ ܫܡܗ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܥܠ ܫܡ ܒܪܗ ܚܢܘܟ the preposition ܥܠ was rendered by *bi*—فسماها باسم ابنه أخنوخ "and he called it after the name of his son Enoch"—for the same reason. Prepositions are generally omitted where Arabic employs direct objects, e.g. ܘܫܥܬܗ ܒܚܡܪܐ ܘܒܙܦܬܐ (Exod 2:3) is translated as فطلتها كفرًا وقارًا "daubed it with slime and with pitch"; ܘܡܠܠ ܡܪܝܐ ܥܡ ܡܘܫܐ (Exod 6:2) is وكلم الله موسى "And God spoke unto Moses." Whereas Syriac specifies time and space by using ܒ, the translation prefers to indicate them by use of the Arabic accusative. For example, ܘܝܬܒ ܒܛܘܪܐ is represented by وسكن الجبال "and he dwelt in the mountains" (Gen 19:30) or ܘܩܕܡ ܐܒܝܡܠܟ ܒܨܦܪܐ (Gen 20:8) by فابتكر أبي مليك غدوة "And Abimelech rose early in the morning."

8.3.8 *Summary*

The tendencies in the translational strategy of **Arab^{Syr}1** observed with regard to syntax and vocabulary are likewise valid for particles. The translation consistently strives to capture the linguistic function of elements in the source text, as can be seen in the varying renderings of the Syriac interjection ܗܐ (demonstrative, *idhā* /*idhā bi*, conveying an affirmative or emphatic mood in verbal clauses or adverbial expression of time). Prepositions are rendered according to their context and the prescriptions of Classical Arabic. Cognate prepositions render those found in the *Vorlage* only where this is acceptable in the target language. Again, **Arab^{Syr}1** shows virtually no concern to mirror the translation elements through formal equivalence.

8.4 Style

This section focuses on stylistic features in **Arab^{Syr}1**. While the previous sections examined the transfer of individual elements from the source text into

Arabic, stylistic features have no exact equivalents. The idea here is to isolate a variety of methods used by the translator when suiting the translation to the style of the *Vorlage*. The main categories are addition (8.4.1), omission (8.4.2), and substitution (8.4.3). They occur where the rendering of a textual element in the source text is linked to that of another and thus reflects the translator's awareness of their interrelatedness in the narrative.

8.4.1 *Additions*

An addition is an extra element in the translated text, one that has no counterpart in the source text. Such expansions, prompted by the elliptical style of the *Vorlage*, help create a cohesive flow within the translation.[88] They are introduced in response to textual ambiguities and motivated by the translator's assumption that uncertainty in the sequence of the narrative unit in the source text needs to be solved by the interpolation of referential links. Additions range from a single elements (a missing subject, verb, preposition) to larger phrases.

Addition of a subject

Where there is a change of subject that is not made explicit in the source text, **Arab$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$1** as a rule fills this gap and adds the subject. In Gen 8:9, for example, the first half of the verse is concerned with the dove that was sent from the ark. The second half, however, recounts how "*he* [i.e., Noah] took her and brought her back unto him into the ark" ܘܐܘܫܛ ܐܝܕܗ ܘܢܣܒܗ ܘܐܥܠܗ ܠܘܬܗ ܠܩܒܘܬܐ. In the translation, فبسط نوح يده إليها فأخذها وأدخلها إلى الفلك, the change of subjects is clearly indicated by adding "Noah."

Gen 21:30 قال له إبرهيم خذ مني سبعة أعنز

And *Abraham* said to him: Take from me seven lambs

ܘܐܡܪ ܕܫܒܥ ܢܩܘܬܐ ܬܣܒ

88 With regard to elliptical style, the Peshiṭta adheres to its Hebrew *Vorlage* with minor exceptions. See Michael Weitzmann, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 23–24. On ellipsis in the Hebrew Old Testament, see Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981): 12–22, 114–130.

Addition of verbs

The added element may equally consist of verbs that provide provide greater detail, fill in a textual lacuna, or (occasionally), even change the sense.

Gen 1:16 فصنع الله نورين عظيمين أما النور الأكبر فجعله لسلطان النهار وأما النور الأصغر فجعله لسلطان الليل مع الكواكب

ܘܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܪܘܪܒܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܠܫܘܠܛܢܐ
ܕܐܝܡܡܐ ܘܢܗܝܪܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܠܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܠܠܝܐ ܘܟܘܟܒܐ

And God made the two great lights. As for the greater light, *he installed it* for dominion over the day and as for the lesser light, *he installed it* for dominion over the night with the stars.

Gen 8:2 وامتنع المطر أن ينزل ܘܐܬܟܠܝ ܡܛܪܐ

And the rain was restrained *from descending*

Exod 3:17 فقلت إني أريد أن أرفعكم من تعبد أهل مصر

ܘܐܡܪܬ ܕܐܣܩܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܫܥܒܕܐ
ܕܡܨܪܝܐ

And I have said that *I desire* to bring you up out of the affliction of the people of Egypt

Addition of single words

For the sake of clarification, a variety of elements may be found inserted in the translation. The rendering of ܘܣܪܐ ܫܡܥܬ ܒܬܪܥܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ ܘܗܘ ܒܣܬܪܗ "And Sarah heard in the tent door, which was behind him" (Gen 18:10) adds *mustatara* "hiding": فسمعت سارة وهي عند باب القبة مستترة وهو خلفها "And Sarah heard it while she was *hiding* at the tent door, which was behind him." Although logically implied by the immediate context, the translator highlighted this detail by an extra element. Similarly, in Gen 23:15 ثمن "the price" is added to ܡܪܝ ܫܡܥܝܢܝ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܬܩܠܝܢ ܕܟܣܦܐ "My lord, hearken unto me: a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver" (= My lord, hearken unto me: a piece of land worth *the price* of four hundred shekels of silver), since this is understood to be the meaning of the *Vorlage*.

Gen 24:65 فتغطت بجلبابها ܘܐܬܟܣܝܬ

And she covered herself *with her gown*

Gen 31:42 فرأى ذلك فوعظك بالليل ܚܙܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܟܣܟ ܒܪܡܫܐ

And he saw *this* and rebuked you that night

Exod 2:8 فقالت نعم اذهبي ܘܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܬ ܦܪܥܘܢ ܙܠܝ

And she said: *Yes, certainly*! Go!

Sometimes the indirect object is added to dialogue:

Gen 24:57 فقالوا له ادعوا الجارية ܘܐܡܪܘ ܢܩܪܐ ܠܛܠܝܬܐ

And they said *unto him*: We will call the damsel

Exod 4:3 قال له ألقها إلى الأرض ܘܐܡܪ ܐܪܡܝܗܝ ܒܐܪܥܐ

And he said *unto him*: Cast it on the ground!

Addition of phrases

Even the insertion of explanatory phrases is not uncommon. A good illustration is provided by Gen 22:4. The mention of the "third day," ܘܒܝܘܡܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܐܪܝܡ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܥܝܢܘܗܝ, in the first half of the verse is imprecise, because it has no referent. Since the preceding verse states that Abraham saddled his ass, readers must infer that the "third day" of his journey is intended. The addition (= فلما سار إبرهيم مسيرة ثلثة أيام لكن إبرهيم رفع عينيه "*and after Abraham traveled a journey of* three days, Abraham lifted his eyes") links the verse with what was stated previously.

Gen 7:20 وارتفع الما فوق الجبال خمسة عشر ذراعًا من فوق واشتد الما

ܚܡܫܥܣܪܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܥܫܢܘ ܡܝܐ

Fifteen cubits *above the mountains did the waters prevail* and the water increased

Gen 20:4 وقال أبي مليك ما ذنب الشعب البري أن يقتل

ܘܐܡܪ ܐܒܝܡܠܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܦ ܥܡܐ ܙܕܝܩܐ ܩܛܠ ܐܢܬ

> And Abimelech said: *What is the sin* of the just nation that will be slain?

The added phrases occasionally express explicit exegesis. Gen 22:14, for example, poses a rhetorical question about God's omnipotence: ܪܒܐ ܗܝ ܓܒܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܐ "Is any thing impossible for the Lord?" To ensure that the phrase is understood as a rhetorical question and thus an affirmation of God's omnipotence, rather than Sarah's real doubt, an entire dialogue is inserted: فقال لها أيعسر على الله ذلك إنه ليفعل ما يشا فقالت لا حقا ما يعسر على الله شي فقال لإبرهيم "*And he said to her*: Is that [i.e., Sarah's conceiving a child] impossible for God *for he does as he pleases? And she said verily nothing is impossible for God. Then he said to Abraham* …" Another example is:

Gen 22:20 فلما كان بعد هذه الخطوب ترايا الله لإبرهيم بالرؤيا

ܘܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ

> And it came to pass after these things, that *God* revealed himself to Abraham *in a vision*.

Influence of parallel verses

In some instances, the insertion appears to be influenced by a different passage in the *Vorlage*. It is not always clear whether such additions are in fact scribal errors. In Gen 3:12, the translation of ܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܝܗܒܬ ܥܡܝ ܗܝ ܝܗܒܬ ܠܝ "The woman whom you gave to be with me, she gave me" (Gen 3:12) as المرأة التي أعطيتني هي أطغتني وأعطتني "The woman whom you gave to be with me, she *misled me* and gave me" adds words that anticipate ܚܘܝܐ ܐܛܥܝܢܝ (الحية التي أطغتني) "the serpent misled me" in the following verse.

Gen 6:1 و ولد لهم بنون وبنات ܘܒܢܬܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗܘܢ

(but compare ܘܐܘܠܕ ܒܢܝܐ ܘܒܢܬܐ / و ولد له بنون وبنات in Gen. 5)

> *Sons and* daughters were born unto them

Gen 9:13 آية ميثاق الذي بيني وبينكم وبين الأرض ܐܬܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܒܝܢܝ ܠܐܪܥܐ

(but compare وأجعل ميثاق بيني وبينكم/ܘܐܩܝܡ ܩܝܡܝ ܥܡܟܘܢ in Gen 9:11)

a sign of the covenant between me *and you* and the earth

8.4.2 *Omissions*

Omission involves the exclusion of an element of the source text with no replacement in the target text. The main motives are to avoid the repetition of roots, to eliminate redundant parts of the verse, and to contract pleonasms. Perceiving the omitted elements as disruptive and void of content, **Arab$^{\mathbf{Syr1}}$** "improves" the style in order to produce a better flow in the translation.

Avoidance of repetition of roots

Biblical Syriac frequently repeats words derived from the same root in one verse. For example, in Gen 1:29 ܟܠܗ ܥܣܒܐ ܕܙܪܥܐ ܕܡܙܕܪܥ ܥܠ ܐܦܝ ܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ "every herb *sowing seed*, which is upon the face of all the earth" the root ܙܪܥ is repeated. Because this adds no significant information, the repetition is deleted: كل عشب يزرع على الأرض. Other examples are:

Gen 2:3 من الخليقة التي خلق ܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܕܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ

from his work which he had created

Exod 8:10 فجمعوا تلالاً ܘܟܢܫܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܟܪ̈ܘܗܝ ܟܪ̈ܘܗܝ

And they gathered them together in heaps

Omission of redundant parts of the verse

There is a tendency to omit parts of the verse that seem to be redundant. In the translation of Gen 6:11, the repetition of the subject, ܘܐܬܚܒܠܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܬܡܠܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܥܘܠܐ "*The earth* also was corrupt before God, and *the earth* was filled with violence," is not reproduced: وفسدت الأرض قدام الله وامتلت فجور "The earth also was corrupt before God and was filled with violence." Similarly, when the subject or object can be inferred from the context, for example in dialogue, it is omitted. ܘܐܡܪ̈ܝ ܚܝܬܐ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ "And *the midwives* said unto Pharaoh" (Exod 1:19) is translated as فقلن له "And *they* said to him".

Gen 20:10 أبي مليك ما رأيت

ܘܐܡܪ ܐܒܝܡܠܟ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܡܢܐ ܚܙܝܬ

And Abimelech said: What did you see?

Gen 4:2 فزادت فولدت هابيل أخيه فكان راعي غنم

ܘܐܘܣܦܬ ܠܡܐܠܕ ܠܐܚܘܗܝ ܠܗܒܝܠ ܘܗܘܐ ܗܒܝܠ ܪܥܐ ܥܢܐ

And again she bore his brother Abel. And he was a keeper of cattle.

Contraction of pleonasms

Sometimes pleonasms are contracted. In Gen 7:7 "*the waters* of the flood" (ܡܝܐ ܕܛܘܦܢܐ) struck the translator as a superfluous tautology and hence ܡܝܐ was omitted in the translation, من قبل الطوفان "before the *flood*." ܘܠܐ ܢܫܡܥܘܢ ܠܩܠܟ "and they will not hearken to *your voice*" (Exod 4:9) is contracted to و لم يطيعوك "and they will not hearken *to you*."

Gen 24:16 وكانت الفتاة حسنا ܘܥܠܝܡܬܐ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܗܘܬ ܒܚܙܘܗ

And the damsel was beautiful

Gen 31:1 فسمع يعقوب بني لابان ܘܫܡܥ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܡܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܒܢܝ ܠܒܢ

And he heard Laban's sons

8.4.3 *Substitutions*

Now we look at paraphrases in the transfer from source to target language. There are several levels of substitution for the original wording by means of deliberately inaccurate translation equivalents. Whereas the first four categories restate the *Vorlage* with only a minimal semantic difference, the last two involve significant changes in the sense.

Syriac verb = Arabic noun

Verbs may be replaced by nouns in the translation. While the source text in Gen 3:17 states ܥܠ ܕܫܡܥܬ ܒܩܠܗ ܕܐܢܬܬܟ "because *you have hearkened*

to the voice of your wife," **Arab**[Syr1] rephrases it as من أجل طاعتك لامرأتك "on account of *your obedience* to your wife." The sense is the same.

Gen 24:36 امرأة سيدي إبرهيم ولدت غلام على الكبر

ܘܝܠܕܬ ܣܪܐ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܒܪܐ ܠܡܪܝ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܣܐܒܬ

"the wife of my master Abraham bore a son *in that age*"

Gen 32:32 وكان يعقوب قد عبر فنوائيل عند طلوع الشمس

ܘܕܢܚ ܠܗ ܫܡܫܐ ܟܕ ܥܒܪ ܠܦܢܘܐܝܠ

"he passed over Peniel with *the rising of the sun*"

Syriac noun = Arabic verb

The reverse substitution can be observed in the following examples.

Gen 1:10 وما اجتمع من الأمياه سماها البحار ܘܠܟܢܫܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܩܪܐ ܝܡܡܐ

And *that which gathered together* of the water he called seas

Gen 24:22 أخرج قرطين يزنان مثقال من ذهب

ܢܣܒ ܒܒ̈ܕܐ ܩܕ̈ܫܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܡܬܩܠܬܐ ܡܬܩܠܗܘܢ

He took out two bracelets *weighing* ten shekels of gold

Exod 8:9 ففعل الله كما صلى موسى

ܘܥܒܕ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܘܫܐ

And God did as Moses *prayed*

Restructuring

Parts of verses in the *Vorlage* may be restructured in the translation. The awkward doublet in Gen 18:26, ܐܢ ܐܫܟܚ ܒܣܕܘܡ ܚܡܫܝܢ ܙܕܝܩܝܢ ܒܓܘ ܩܪܝܬܐ "If I find in *Sodom* fifty righteous within *the city*," is rearranged in **Arab**[Syr1] as إن وجدت في قرية سدُم خمسين تقيًا "if I find *in the city of Sodom* fifty righteous."

Gen 1:16 الليل مع الكواكب ܠܠܠܝܐ ܘܟܘܟܒܐ

the night *with* the stars

Gen 22:2 انطلق بابنك وحيدك إسحق الذي تحبه إلى أرض الأمرانيين

ܕܒܪ ܠܒܪܟ ܠܝܚܝܕܝܟ ܕܪܚܡ ܐܢܬ ܠܐܝܣܚܩ ܘܙܠ ܠܟ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܡܘܪܝܐ

Take now your son, your only son, Isaac, whom you love, to the land of the Amorites

Gen 31:26 وقال لابان ليعقوب ماذا فعلت؟ لما سرقت قلبي

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܒܢ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ ܡܢܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܠܟ ܕܓܢܒܬ ܠܒܝ

And Laban said unto Jacob: *What have you done? Why did you steal my heart?*

Inversion

In this category, a construction that includes a separate negation in the Syriac is replaced by a term that conveys the same sense without the negative. For example, “Pharaoh’s heart was hardened, and he *did not* let them go; as the Lord had spoken” (Exod 7:13) ܘܐܬܥܫܢ ܠܒܗ ܕܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܫܕܪ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ becomes “and *he refused* to let the people go” وأبا أن يرسل الشعب.

Gen 3:11 التي نهيتك عنها ܕܦܩܕܬܟ ܕܠܐ ܬܐܟܘܠ ܡܢܗ

that I forbade you

Gen 24:8 فإن كرِهَت المرأةُ أن تتبعك

ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܨܒܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܡܐܬܐ ܥܡܟ

if the woman *dislikes* following you

Lexical specification

Lexical specifications are very common in **Arab^{Syr}1.** Here the translation employs a term that limits the denotation of the element in the source text, usually on the basis of the context. In Gen 24:47, where the source states that the earrings and bracelets were *put on* Rebecca (= ܘܐܪܡܝܬ ܫܝܪܐ ܒܐܝܕܝܗ̇ ܘܩܕܫܐ ܒܐܕܢܝܗ̇), **Arab^{Syr}1** has فحليتها بهذين القرطين والقلبين "I have *adorned* her with the two earrings and bracelets." In like manner, the vague expression that the ground "shall not henceforth give its *strength*" ܠܐ ܬܘܣܦ ܕܬܬܠ ܠܟܝ ܚܝܠܗ̇ (Gen 4:12) is made more specific by the use of *ḥarthaha* "its *produce*," لا تعود أن تعطيك حرثها.

Gen 19:8 هاتين ابنتي لم يمسهما رجل

ܗܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܒܢܢ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܫ ܓܒܪ

These are my two daughters that no man *has touched*

Gen 20:6 وأرشدتك أنا أيضًا لكيلا تخطي لي

ܘܚܣܟܬܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܬܚܛܐ ܠܝ

I also *guided* you lest you sin against me

Gen 31:35 ܡܛܠ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ ܠܝ ܕܢܫܐ من أجل أني حائض

for I am *menstruating*

Exod 8:8 من أجل الضفادع التي أغشى فرعون

ܡܛܠ ܐܘܪܕܥܐ ܕܐܝܬܝ، ܥܠ ܦܪܥܘܢ

because of the frogs, with which he had *covered* Pharaoh

Direct Speech to Indirect Speech

Direct speech is often converted to indirect speech:

Gen 20:5 وقالت لي هي أنه أخوها ܘܐܦ ܗܝ ܐܡܪܬ ܕܐܚܝ ܗܘ

And she said to me *that he is her brother*

Gen 20:13 أخبري أني أخوك ܐܡܪܝ ܥܠܝ ܕܐܚܝ ܗܘ

Say *that I am your brother*

Gen 21:16 لكيلا تبصر الغلام حين يموت

ܡܛܠ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܕܠܐ ܐܚܙܐ ܒܡܘܬܗ ܕܛܠܝܐ

lest she see the lad *while he was dying*

8.4.4 *Summary*

This section has highlighted the translator's awareness of the literary dimension of his translation. Additions, for example, usually provide links to other verses or to different parts of the same verse. They are intended to clarify what was left ambiguous or tacit in the narrative. The motive in complementing a specific grammatical component (subject, verb, or object) is the translator's wish to create a cohesive flow by filling in perceived lacunae in the *Vorlage*. In this regard, too, **Arab$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$1**, is clearly reader-oriented.

Omission has a comparable effect. Whereas additions are motivated by the supposed absence of elements in the source text, omissions are fueled by textual superfluity. The elimination of repetitive and redundant elements (repeated roots, redundant parts of the verse, textual pleonasms) improves the flow of the translation.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

This chapter presents general conclusions as to the character of **Arab^{Syr}1**, its provenance, and date. To summarize the translational strategy it employs, we may turn again to Barr's categories for measuring differences between a more literal and less literal translation. Although the sections on syntax, lexicon, particles, and style demonstrated that **Arab^{Syr}1** is essentially a non-imitative translation with only limited concern for formal equivalence, a detailed assessment of Barr's categories may give a more complete picture of its translational approach.

9.1 The Division into Elements or Segments

Arab^{Syr}1, as noticeable especially in its syntax, takes the entire verse as the basis for translation. Individual elements are generally rendered with the context of each verse in mind. The translation of an element in one way or another is determined by the function it serves on this level. It should be noted, however, that to some extent the translator related to larger units of the Syriac source text, such as clusters of verses in the narrative, as was show with regard to additions (8.4.1) and omissions (8.4.2). Lexical substitutions, too (8.4.3), are motivated by his attempt to convey the accurate, context-based meaning within the larger framework of the narrative.

9.2 Addition or Subtraction of Elements

Quantitative equivalence is not of major concern to **Arab^{Syr}1**. On a linguistic level, the translator does not hesitate to introduce grammatical elements that have no correspondence in the *Vorlage*, such as *li-* as the marker of the jussive (8.1.6) and *yā* for the vocative (8.1.10). Similarly, the extraposition of parts of the sentence (8.1.1) and restructuring of subsequent coordinate clauses as subordinate clauses (8.1.2) involves the introduction of additional elements. Conversely, elements of the source text that have no equivalent in Arabic are omitted and rendered by functional counterparts (see the examples in 8.3). On a stylistic level this tendency is most discernible in additions (8.4.1) and omissions (8.4.2).

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9.3 Consistency and Inconsistency

Arab^{Syr}1 is not consistent with regard to the syntactic functions of each translation element and vocabulary. It often employs diverse means of representing elements that serve a particular function; for example, *a* and *hal* may be used interchangeably in interrogative clauses (8.1.5); *ka-*, *mithl,* and *ka-mithl* all occur to translate particles of similitude in nominal contexts (8.3.4). But **Arab^{Syr}1** also features multiple renderings of a single lexeme in the source text (8.2.6).

9.4 Accuracy and Conveyance of Semantic Information

On the whole, **Arab^{Syr}1** is a very accurate translation. For example, with regard to anthropomorphisms, where a less accurate translation may have been expected out of theological considerations, **Arab^{Syr}1** remains strikingly literal (8.2.8). There are nevertheless departures from the semantic level of the *Vorlage*, such as the transformation of coordinate clauses to temporal or causal subordinate clauses (8.1.2) and lexical substitutions to make the sense more specific (8.4.3).

9.5 Coded "Etymological" Indication of Formal/Semantic Relationships Found in the Source Language

Rather than presenting a formal or semantic transparency to the original language, **Arab^{Syr}1** generally prefers a dynamic or functional equivalence. It is thus of only a limited concern to **Arab^{Syr}1** to convey a "coded 'etymological' indication" of the grammatical structures of the *Vorlage*. It reproduce the linguistic structure only where there is structural affinity between the Syriac *Vorlage* and Classical Arabic. But where transfer of the linguistic function of a source text element would require a deviation from Classical Arabic, the translation as a rule diverges from the source. This is clearest with regard to infinitives (8.1.7) and participles (8.1.8). In the domain of vocabulary, the attempt to maintain a relationship to the source text is usually expressed by the use of cognates and transliterations as translation equivalents. As shown, however, cognates are not employed mechanically in **Arab^{Syr}1** and exist side by side with semantic equivalents, which usually outnumber them (8.2.1). Although both transliterations (8.2.2) and homophonic roots (8.2.3) are found, they constitute an exception to **Arab^{Syr}1**'s general tendency to employ context-based, semantic translation equivalents.

9.6 Level of Text and Level of Analysis

The translator of **Arab**^{Syr}**1** is likely to have worked from a Syriac manuscript that represents the basic *textus receptus* of the Peshiṭta Pentateuch (7.2) and used chapter *incipits* as a means of dividing the text (7.3). The transcriptions of Syriac words and proper names reflect an East-Syriac reading tradition (8.2.7). His command of biblical Syriac is exemplary and places him among the educated, scholarly elite. As becomes apparent in the alternative translations (8.2.5), he had a thorough familiarity with the subtleties of the Syriac lexicon.

In sum, a clear characteristic of **Arab**^{Syr}**1**, and indeed its main motivation for departing from literal translation, is conformity with the prescriptive rules of Classical Arabic. Adhering to Classical Arabic idiom so as to produce a text of high literary standard is one of the distinguishing features of **Arab**^{Syr}**1**. The language of the translation is Classical, in both its vocabulary and its style. The lexicon, as attested in the many reminiscences of pre-Islamic poetry and the Qurʾān, may be described as elevated. **Arab**^{Syr}**1** is thus oriented towards the target text, characterized by the translator's careful attention to its rules.

There are few indications about the translator's identity. It is clear that he belonged to the Church of the East. Some features of his lexicon hint that he probably lived in Iraq (8.2.1). Moreover, both Ibn Qutayba and al-Ṭabarī (Chapter 4), who had a written copy of his translation at their disposal, were active there. The high literary standard of the Arabic employed in his translation suggests that he was a trained professional, probably a scribe or translator. He was knowledgeable in contemporary Muslim culture, as can be gathered from his familiarity with the Qurʾān (8.2.4). Finally, the quotations by Ibn Qutayba make the second half of the ninth century the *terminus ante quem* for his work.

This dating gives **Arab**^{Syr}**1** the distinction of being the earliest attested Arabic Pentateuch. But it was soon overshadowed by **Arab**^{Syr}**2**, which almost completely replaced it in the Church of the East. The reason for this may have been the more didactic character of **Arab**^{Syr}**2** (see Chapter 3.2), which made it a better choice to meet the need of instruction in Scripture. Future research will have to determine the influence of **Arab**^{Syr}**1** on later traditions. There are indications that it was significant, especially in Iraq. Both **Arab**^{Syr}**2** and Saadiah's *Tafsīr* show intriguing similarities to it.[1] By way of example, all three traditions begin Gen 1:1 with the enigmatic construction *awwal mā* "at first/the

1 The influence of **Arab**^{Syr}**1** on Saadiah was already noted by Moshe Zucker, *Rav Saadya Gaon's Translation*, 6–7 (Hebrew). Zucker compared the *Tafsīr* with Ibn Qutayba's quotations, unaware that the latter culled them from an existing translation. Steiner (Steiner, *A Biblical Translation*), too, noticed the similarity between the two translations.

first thing." Furthermore, the "monographic" character of **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$ may have served Saadiah as a model when he composed his *Tafsīr*. Both translations usually provide referential links between subsequent verses or different units in a single verse, intended to clarify what the elliptic sequence of the narrative leaves ambiguous. On the other hand, repetitions and redundant parts of the verse are omitted. Because they perceive the elements omitted from the narrative as disruptive and meaningless, **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$ and Saadiah employ this stylistic modification to produce a concerted flow within the translation. As seen in Chapter 8.1.2, both translations convert simple syntactic coordination into temporal subordination, in order to highlight the interrelatedness of events or actions in the largely paratactic source text. What is more, there are also parallels between the *Tafsīr* and **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$ on the lexical level. In the book of Leviticus, both render "fine flour" as *samīd*. In **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$ this imitates the cognate Syriac *s*^{e}*mīdā,* found in the Peshiṭta. Saadiah employed the term to render Hebrew *sōleṯ*. Both translations use *ḥasād* for "harvest." Again it reflects the etymologically related Syriac *ḥ*^{e}*ṣādā* in **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$, whereas it renders Hebrew *qāṣīr* in the *Tafsīr*. In the laws of the Feast of Tabernacles, *maẓāl* appears in both as a translation of "booth," cognate to Syriac *maẓlā* that is found in the Peshiṭta and as an equivalent to Hebrew *sukkah*. These terms are not surprising in a translation from the Peshiṭta, but when they appear in the *Tafsīr* they support the conjecture that Saadiah borrowed from existing traditions.

Saadiah was discontented with earlier translations and expressed in strong terms the need for an "appropriate" translation of the Pentateuch that is "clear and well arranged" and might be found "in the hands of those living in distant countries" (see Chapter 3.5.2). His departure from the strict formal equivalence of early non-Saadianic traditions in favor of a translation type strikingly similar to **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$ may indicate that Saadiah found the latter to be such a "clear and well arranged" translation. Questions like these are beyond of the scope of the present study. It is hoped, however, that they will be explored in future research, for which a critical edition of **Arab**$^{\mathrm{Syr1}}$ will constitute an indispensable tool.

Appendices

Inventory of Manuscripts

This appendix presents a comprehensive inventory of all the manuscripts that were used in this study. It concentrates on translation traditions in use among Christian communities. Because research in Judaeo-Arabic and Samaritan versions has advanced significantly over the last years and lists of manuscript sources can be easily gathered from the secondary literature (see Chapter 3.5), codices of these provenances were not included. The inventory is arranged according to *Vorlagen*. A *siglum* was allocated to each translation tradition. For example, **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$1** refers the first version rendered from a Syriac *Vorlage*. The second is designated **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$2**, etc. A further differentiation has been introduced through lowercase letters, since a given translation may be extant in different recensions. **Arab$^{\text{Heb}}$1a** designates Syriac-Orthodox adaptations of Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, whereas **Arab$^{\text{Heb}}$1b** those of Coptic provenance. **Arab$^{\text{Syr_Hex}}$1a** refers to al-Ḥārith ibn Sinān's version of the *Syro-Hexapla*, while **Arab$^{\text{Syr_Hex}}$1b** designates a later adaptation of the text. The classification had to be carried out separately for each book of the Pentateuch, because many codices merge texts from varying provenances. As a result, codicological units do not always correspond to textual units. Attention also had to be given to later replacement folios, which may frequently exhibit a different text type than older parts of the codex. Each chapter starts with a short preliminary introduction to the version discussed.

The body of each manuscript description provides details of the writing materials, quiring and means for ensuring the correct order of the quires, catchwords, ruling techniques, format, and layout. Dates, the names of scribes and readers, and ownership notes are given, including transcription of colophons. Each item concludes with a bibliography. The information provided is as full as possible, in order to facilitate further research.

1. *Arab$^{\text{Heb}}$: Translations from the Hebrew*

Saadiah's originally Judaeo-Arabic *Tafsīr* is attested in numerous complete manuscripts of Christian provenance in Arabic script, dating from the 11th century onwards. A few fragments of Saadiah's *Tafsīr* in Arabic letters, of Jewish provenance, exist in the Genizah collections.[1] Nevertheless, there is no clear evidence as to when Saadiah's *Tafsīr* was first transcribed into Arabic script. Although the Genizah fragments can be

1 On the Genizah fragments, see Ronny Vollandt, "Some Observations on Genizah Fragments of Saadiah's Tafsīr in Arabic Letters," *Ginzey Qedem: Genizah Research Annual 6* (2009): 9*–44*.

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dated to the first half of the eleventh century, their scarcity does not allow any conclusive and univocal answer to that question. Christian manuscripts of the *Tafsīr* have long been known to scholars and are the subject of several studies. Nevertheless, the context of Saadiah's transmission to Christian circles is still far from clear. The transmission history is an intricate matter, because it branches out into many sub-groups. That Saadiah's version was granted some sort of canonical status becomes obvious not only in the sheer number of surviving manuscripts, but also—and all the more so—in light of the textual creativity with which it was revised and augmented and given thematically related prefaces, short treatises, and commentaries by Christian scholars.

1.2 Arab^{Heb}1a: Syriac Adaptations of Saadiah's Tafsīr

Saadiah's translation of Genesis exists in a Syriac adaptation, which is clearly distinguishable from that of the Coptic branch (see below). The earliest dated manuscript is London, BL, MS Add. 11855. This branch falls into two further sub-groups. In order to create a full Pentateuch, the first group supplies the books of Exodus and Numbers from **Arab^{Syr}2**, but Leviticus and Deuteronomy from **Arab^{Syr_Hex}1b**. In contrast to the first group of manuscripts, the second (e.g. Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 4; Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS Ar. 75) synthesizes different translation traditions: Leviticus and Deuteronomy are identical to Saadiah's version in the Coptic branch (see below), whereas Exodus and Numbers resemble the version found in the former group of manuscripts (= **Arab^{Syr}2**). The *Tafsīr* is featured in a distinctively conservative recension as compared to that of the Coptic branch. Saadiah's interpretative approach to translation is largely preserved in accordance with Judaeo-Arabic copies. The West-Syriac provenance is corroborated by a systematic lexical adjustment to the Peshiṭta (see Chapter 3.2), as well as by the inclusion of a translation from the Peshiṭta for Exodus and Numbers. Leiden, University Library, MS Or. 377 (olim Warner 377), another representative of this branch was copied by Salām ibn Ismāʾīl al-Mardanī al-Yaʾqūbī, i.e., a Syriac-Orthodox scribe from Mardin.

a *London, BL, MS Add. 11855*

Contents: Genesis (1r–51v), Exodus (52r–95v), Leviticus (95r–128v), Numbers (129r–173r), Deuteronomy (174r–215v).

Leviticus and Deuteronomy come from the Coptic branch of Saadianic adaptations; the other books are **Arab^{Syr}2,** as are the replacement folios.

215 fols. (fols. 1–19, 24–25, 37, 113, 206–207, 214–215 are later replacements). The original codex was written on ruled Oriental paper, 23 × 15 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. Their order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers in the outside top margin. The foliation is in *rūmī* numerals. There are 18 lines per page. The script is formal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. *Ihmāl* signs: /*ḥāʾ*/ and final /*kāf*/, sub-linear minuscule letter; /*sīn*/, diagonal stroke. Red and blue ink is used for the

chapter headings. The newer portions were written on watermarked occidental paper, with 19 lines per page, in informal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized.

Date: According to a note on 215v, the older part of the codex was copied in 740 AM (1024 CE). The replacements were added on 5 Tūt 1340 AM (1638 CE).

Fol. 215v
كملت هذا التوراة الشريفة المقدسة الخمسة اسفار المنزلة من الرب سبحانه على بكر
الانبياء السيد موسى النبي بن عمران من سبط لاوي بن يعقوب اسرايل فنسال الله سبحانه
يرزقنا صالح بركاته امين. وكان الفراغ من تجديدها في يوم السبت المبارك خامس شهر توت
المبارك افتتاح سنة الف وثلثماية ثمانية واربعين للشهدا الاطهار واما تاريخ النسخة القديمة
فكان في سنة سبعماية واربعين للشهدا الاطهار السعدا والابرار بركاتهم المقدسة تكون
معنا امين.

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Incipits, the Hebrew weekly portions (both *parashot* and the Palestinian triennial *sedarim*) are marked.

Comments: A note on the flyleaf reports that the codex was discovered by Franciscan missionaries and sent by the Custodian of the Holy Sepulchre to the Propaganda Fide in Rome in 1634. It is not known how it reached the British Library.

Bibliography: British Library, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur,* 3 vols. (London: Impensis Curatorum Musei Britannici, 1838–71), 2: 20.

b *Florence, BML, MS Or 57 (olim 12)*

Contents:

1. Introduction (1r–2r)
   The introduction addresses the transmission of the Pentateuch and its different translations; cf. *GCAL* 2: 289–290.
2. Genesis (2v–63r), summary of chapters (64r–67v), Exodus (68r–116v), Leviticus (117r–148v), Numbers (150r–196v), Deuteronomy (197v–238r)
   Whereas the books of Exodus and Numbers derive from **Arab$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$2**, Leviticus and Deuteronomy exhibit **Arab$^{\mathbf{Syr_Hex}}$1b**.
   238 fols. (7–9 and unnumbered bifolia between 105–106 and 237–238 are a later replacement), ruled Oriental paper, 27.5 × 18 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by two sets of signatures, the first in the left upper margin in the form of spelled-out numbers, and the second in *rūmī* numerals on the right, foliation in *rūmī* numerals. There are 18–20 lines per page. The script is formal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. The *ihmāl* sign for letter /*ḥā*ʾ/ is a sub-linear minuscule letter; for /*sīn*/, a

diagonal stroke. Chapter headings are rubricated. Marginal notes in Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic, in a modern hand, provide references to the Hebrew Bible and lexical annotations.

Date: Undated (11th–12th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Reader's notes: Fols. 63v, 116v, 148v, 149r, 238r and v.

Text divisions: Incipits

Comments: The summary of contents preceding the book of Exodus is that found in al-Ḥārith's version (see 3.1 and below). A note on fol. 1r, "Dal signor. Vecchieto," suggests that the manuscript had been acquired by one of the Vecchietti brothers on behalf of Giovanni Battista Raimondi. The latter collected many Arabic and (Judaeo-) Persian Bible manuscripts in the hope of printing a Polyglot Bible (see Chapter 5). The notes in Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic, as well as the marking of chapters in accordance with the modern usage, are likely to be by Raimondi or one of his collaborator.

Bibliography: Stefano Evodio Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum mms. orientalium catalogus* (Florence: Ex Typographio Albiziniano, 1742), 57; Jacob Georg Christian Adler, *Kurze Übersicht*, 68–69; GCAL 1: 103.

C *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hunt. 424*

Contents:

1. Introduction (5r–6v); see GCAL 2: 289–290.
2. Genesis (7r–108r), Exodus (109r–206v), Leviticus (207r–262v), Numbers (263r–343r), Deuteronomy (344r–408v).

Exodus and Numbers derive from **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$2**; Leviticus and Deuteronomy exhibit **Arab$^{\text{Syr_Hex}}$1b**. The replacement folios exhibit **Arab$^{\text{Greek}}$**.

408 fols. (1–14, 66–67, 76, 405–410 are a later replacement), oriental paper, 5 bifolia per quire, the quire order is indicated by means of catchwords at the end of each quire, 12–15 lines per page, informal *naskh*.

Date: Undated (12th–13th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Incipits

Bibliography: Uri, Nicoll, and Pusey, *Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ codicum manuscriptorum*, 1 (Codices Christiani): 30; Paulus, *Commentatio critica*, 50–55, 59–70; Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Weidmannische Buchhandlung, 1795–1803), 1: 620–621; Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 89–93, 57*–63*); GCAL 1: 103.

d *Leiden, University Library, MS Or. 377*

Contents:

1. Introduction (1r–5v).
2. Genesis (5v–60r), Exodus (60r–105r), Leviticus (105v–134r), Numbers (134v–179r), Deuteronomy (179v–216v).

   Whereas the books of Exodus and Numbers derive from **Arab^{Syr}2**, Leviticus and Deuteronomy exhibit **Arab^{Syr_Hex}1b**.

   216 fols. Oriental paper, 28.5 × 22 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers in the left upper margin; foliation in Arabic numerals that were apparently added later. 16 lines per page, formal *naskh*. *Ihmāl* signs: /*ḥā'*/, final /*kāf,*/ and final /*hā'*/ minuscule letters; /*sīn*/, three sub-linear dots. There are collation marks at the end of each quire. That manuscript was copied at the Monastery of Mīkāyīl in Maḥalla.

Date: 6 Shawwāl 637 AH (29 April 1240 CE)

Fol. 216v:

كان الفراغ من تعليقها في الرابعة من نهار يوم الاثنين سادس شهر شوال سنة سبع وثلثين
وستماية ببيعة ميكايل بالمحلة فرحم الله امرءا وقف عليها و راى فيها ما اوجبه السهو والغلط
من الاصل الا واصلحه وكذلك من اللحن والتصحيف وكتب سلام بن اسمعيل [...] المردني
السرياني اليعقوبي الغشمي وهو شاكر الله على انعمه

Scribe: Fol. 216v, Salām ibn Ismail al-Mardanī al-Yaʿqūbī

Ownership notes: 2r

برسم خزانة المجلس الشامي الشيخ الاجل الكبير العالم البارع الاصيل اسعده الملك
الاسعدابي الفخر سيد الكتّاب والحجاب قوام لله فاعصد الحضرة مو لى للملك مفيد المملوك
ابن انذو نه (؟)

Text divisions: Incipits

Comments: The text has many lacunae; see the list in John Caleb Hughes, *De Lagardes Ausgabe der arabischen Übersetzung des Pentateuchs* (*Cod. Leiden arab. 377*) (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1914): viii. The entire codex was edited by Paul de Lagarde, *Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1867), vol. 1.

Bibliography: Petrus Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Collections in the Netherlands* (Leiden: Bibliotheca Universitatis, 1980): 49; Hughes, *De Lagardes Ausgabe*; GCAL 1: 102.

e *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 20*

Contents: Genesis (1r–61v), Exodus (62r–110r), Leviticus (111r–143r), Numbers (143v–191r), Deuteronomy (192r–229r).

229 fols. (228–229 are a recent replacement). Paper, 30 × 21 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by in the form of spelled-out numbers; folioation in *rūmī* numerals. There are 19 lines per page. Fol. 191r notes the dedication to the Coptic Patriarchate, late *naskh*, sporadically vocalized.

Date: undated (17th/18th century)

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: *Incipits*, marks the Hebrew *parashot*.

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 103; Georg Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caïre* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1934): 94; Marcus Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the principal churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the monasteries of Egypt* (Cairo: Government Press, Būlâq, 1939), 2: 19.

f *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 22*

Contents: Genesis (2r–61r), Exodus (61v–109v), Leviticus (110r–146r), blank (146v–147v) Numbers (147b–198r), Deuteronomy (199v–246r).

Whereas the books of Exodus and Numbers derive from **Arab$^{\text{Syr}}$2**, Leviticus and Deuteronomy exhibit **Arab$^{\text{Syr_Hex}}$1b**.

249 fols. (1–6, 64, 102, 110, 243–246 are later replacements, which feature **Arab$^{\text{Copt}}$**). Paper, 33 × 25 cm, 15 lines per page (replacement folios: 22 lines), *naskh*, almost full vocalization. The restoration of the codex was completed on 16 Tūt 1511 AM (= 19 September 1794 CE) by Athanasius, Bishop of Abū Tīj, who presented the book to the Monastery of St. Anthony. The year 950 AM (1233–34 CE) is given as the date of the original manuscript.

Date: 950 AM (1233/34 CE)

تم ترقيم هذا الكتاب يوم الاربعا المبارك سادس عشر شهر توت المبارك سنة الف وخمساية واحدي عشر للشهدة (!) على يد الحقير اتناسيوس خادم جماعة الله المقدسة بكرسي ابو تيج طالب بذلك الاجر من الله وان تاريخ نسخة سابقا بما وجدنا في تاريخه سنة تسعماية وخمسين للشهدة (!).

Scribe: Unknown

Reader's note: Fol. 147r

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 103; Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 96; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 4; Nabil Selim Atalla*, Illustrations from Coptic Manuscripts* (Cairo: Lehnert & Landrock, 2000): 18–19.

g *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 25*

Contents: Genesis (4r–51r), Exodus (51v–84v), Leviticus (85r–107v), Numbers (108r–139r), Deuteronomy (139v–169r).

169 fols. Paper, 31 × 22 cm, 22–25 lines; *naskh*, sporadically vocalized.

Date: Fol. 81v: 9 Masrī [1469 AM] (= 2 August 1753 CE)

السفر الثاني في الساعة التاسع من يوم الاثنين اليوم التاسع من مسري

Fol. 166r: 6 Tūt 1470 AM (= 14 September 1753 CE)

وكان الفراغ من هذه (!) الكتّاب الطاهر يوم الجمعة سادس شر توت المبارك الموافق سنة قبطية الف واربعماية وسبعين للشهدا الاطهار

Scribe: Unknown

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 103; Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 101; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 40.

h *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 26*

Contents: Genesis (10r–73v), Exodus (74v–179v), Leviticus (180v–252r), Numbers (253v–357r), Deuteronomy (357v–454v).

455 fols. Paper, 28 × 20, 11 lines. Fols. 74r and 180r bear a dedication to the Church of Ḥārat al-Rūm in 1433 AM (= 1716/17 CE). Copied at the expense of ʿAbd al-Sayyid (fol. 73v).

Date: Fol. 73v, 30 Ṭūbah 1372 AM (= 5 February 1656)

Bibliography: Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 24.

i *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 4*

Contents:

1. Introduction (3v–4r).
2. Genesis (4v–33r), Exodus (33r–56v), Leviticus (57r–72v), Numbers (73r–94r), Deuteronomy (94v–112v).

Leviticus and Deuteronomy belong to the Coptic branch of Saadianic adaptations, the remaining books contain **Arab^{Syr}2**.

113 fols. Ruled Oriental paper, 35 × 26 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers in the upper left margin. Catchwords on each folio, foliation in *rūmī* numerals. 23 lines per line, formal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized; chapter headings are rubricated. The manuscript contains numerous glosses in Syriac: fol. 1r has a list, in Syriac, of the twelve gems of the breastplate, on which the names of the tribes of Israel were engraved. Fol. 113r has a Syriac note on the chronology of the Israelites. There are many glosses by different

hands in Syriac and in Arabic (the latter both in Arabic script and *karshūnī*), some of which refer to the commentary by Mark ibn al-Qunbar, as preserved in Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 16, which itself contains corrections derived from this MS.

Date: Undated

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Incipits. The text is also divided according to the weekly *parashot* of the Hebrew Bible (*aṣḥāḥ* and sporadically *farāsha* in Arabic).

Bibliography: Gérard Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes: Première partie: manuscrits chrétiens nos. 1–6933* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1972): 13; Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 64–70.

j *Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS Ar. 75*

Contents: Genesis (2v–78v), Exodus (79r–401r), Leviticus (140v–181r), Numbers (181v–237r), Deuteronomy (237v– 882r).

The later replacements (fols. 1–2 and 288–289) exhibit **Arab^{Copt}**. Leviticus and Deuteronomy belong to the Coptic branch of Saadianic adaptations. The other books contain **Arab^{Syr}2.**

289 fols. (1–2 and 288–289 are later replacements). Oriental paper, 18 × 25 cm. Foliation in *rūmī* numerals. 16 lines per page, *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. Chapter headings are rubricated, but often omitted and indicated by a blank space.

Date: Undated (13th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Chapter incipits. In addition, the text is divided according to the weekly *parashot* of the Hebrew Bible (*aṣḥaḥ* and sporadically *farāsha* in Arabic) and the Palestinian triennial *sedarim* (Arab. *sidr*).

Bibliography: Niels Ludvig Westergaard, *Codices Orientales Bibliothecæ regiæ Hafniensis* (Copenhagen: Ex officina fratrum Berling, 1851): 60; R. Edelmann, “On the Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch,” in *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen* (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1953): 71–75.

k *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 16 (5r–20v = Gen 2:10–19:26)*

Contents:

1. Coptic Calendar (1v–2v).
2. Genesis (3r–58r), Exodus (59r–108v), Leviticus (109r–145v), Numbers (146r–192v), Deuteronomy (193r–236r).

The manuscript consists of four codicological units. The first scribe wrote the Coptic calendar on fols. 1v–2v. A second hand copied the translation found on fols. 3r–4v, which exhibits **Arab^{Copt}**. Both units are of recent date. A third scribe wrote fols. 5r–20v and 231r–232v, the second-oldest unit, which contains **Arab^{Heb}1a.** The balance, the oldest part, was written by a fourth scribe. It contains the

translation and commentary by Mark ibn al-Qunbar (see Chapter 3.1) for Genesis-Leviticus and **Arab^{Syr_Hex}1b** for Numbers-Deuteronomy.

239 fols. Ruled Oriental paper in the older part of the codex (fols. 1–4 on Occidental watermarked paper). 25 × 17 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers in the left top margin. There are catchwords in the lower margin of each folio; foliation in Coptic numerals. 19 lines per page, formal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. The chapter headings are rubricated.

Date: 23 Barmhāt 954 AM (= 1238 CE)

Fol. 236r

كملت التوراة المباركة وهي خمسة اسفار بتاريخ يوم الجمعة الثالث والعشرين من برمهات
سنة اربعة وخمسين وتسع ماية للشهدا الاطهار رزقنا الله بركة صلواتهم

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Fols. 5r–20v and 231r–232v have incipits. In addition, the text is divided according to the *parashot* of the Hebrew Bible (*aṣḥāḥ* and sporadically *farāsha* in Arabic). The older part contains the text division according to *qirāʾāt*, as common in the text type of Ibn al-Qunbar (see Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 64–70).

Reader's notes: Fols. 58v, 192v, and 239v

Bibliography: Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, 1: 19–20; Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 61–70.

1.2 Arab^{Heb}1b: Coptic Adaptations of Saadiah's Tafsīr

Saadiah's translation is also found in a large number of manuscripts of Coptic provenance. The earliest of them is Florence, BML, MS Or. 112 (olim 21), copied 1245/46 CE. The *Tafsīr* was extremely popular among Copts.

a *Florence, BML, MS Or 112 (olim 21)*

Contents:

1. Genesis (1v–79r), Exodus (80v–141r), Leviticus (145v–581v), Numbers (681v–284v), Deuteronomy (285v–304v).
2. Two prayers in Syriac were inserted on fols. 79v–80r. They are preceded by the headings ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܛܠܝܐ and ܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

   304 fols. (9 and 18 are later replacements). Ruled Oriental paper, 23.5 × 16 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers in the left top margin. Catchwords on each folio, foliation in *rūmī* numerals. 15 lines per page; formal *naskh*, fully vocalized. The *ihmāl* sign for /*ḥā*ʾ/

takes the form of a sub-linear minuscule letter. There are several collation notes (بلغ مقابلة), placed at the end of each book. Corrections and additions of omitted text are found in the margins.

Date: 27 Muḥarram 643 AH = 28 Ba'ūnah (23 June 1245 CE)

Copyist: Unknown

Colophon: Fol. 304v

تم تفسير التوراة المقدسة بعون الله واهب الجود والكرم فله السبح والمجد والقدرة وهو مولي الرحمة والنعم في يوم الاربعا السابع والعشرين من المحرم سنة ثالث واربعين وستماية للّهجرة الموافق للثامن والعشرين من بوونة سنة احد (؟) وستين وتسعماية والحمد لله على نعمايه

Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113); *parashot* are marked sporadically; e.g. fol. 8r الفصل الثامن وهو اول الفراشة الثانية and fol. 14v الفصل الرابع عشر وهو اول الفراشة الثالثة.

Comments: A note on the inner margin of the first folio informs that the codex was acquired in February 1609. It is likely that the codex belonged to Raimondi, who bequeathed a number of biblical manuscripts in Arabic to the BML (e.g. Florence, BML, MS Or 57 and Vatican, BAV, Copt. MSS 2–4).

Bibliography: Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, 63; Adler, *Kurze Übersicht*, 67–68; Kahle, *Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen*, 13–23, *GCAL* 1: 102. The codex was described by Wilhelm Bacher, "Il manoscritto fiorentino della Traduzione del Pentateucho di Saadja," *Rivista Israelitica 2* (1905): 45–49; and, more recently, by Bruno Chiesa, "Un Testimone della Traduzione Araba del Pentateucho di Saadia," in Giuliano Tamani and Angelo Vivian, eds., *Manoscritti, Frammenti e Libri ebraici nell'Italia dei Secoli XV–XVI* (Rome: Carucci, 1991): 203–213.

b *Wolfenbüttel, Gudianus Graecus, MS 33*

Contents: Genesis (100v–35v), Exod 1:1–27:15 (34v–1v).

108 fols. Ruled and watermarked Occidental paper, 27.5 × 20.5, 6 bifolia per quire. Catchwords on each folio. 15 lines per page, late *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. Chapter headings are rubricated. The modern foliation runs in the Latin reading order.

Date: Undated

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Comments: The manuscript is an exact copy of Florence, BML, MS Or 112, as already noted by Gildemeister on a blank leaf inside the back cover, and dated 5 November 1836.

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 102; Franz Koehler and Gustav Milchbrack, *Die Gudischen Handschriften,* vol. 9: *Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1966): 27; Kahle, *Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen*, viii.

c *London, BL, MS Harl. 5475*

Contents:

1. Genesis (1r–72v), Exodus (73v–131r), Leviticus (132v–172v), Numbers (173v–232v), Deuteronomy (233v–280r), blank (280v).
2. blank (281r–282v), Introduction (282v–285r); see *GCAL* 2: 289–290.

285 fols. The first folio (Gen 1:1–1:10) is missing. Ruled Oriental paper, 25.2 × 18 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by two strokes on the lower right and upper left folios of the open quire. Foliation in *rūmī* numerals, with a running head indicating the biblical book (السفر الاول, السفر الثاني, etc) in the outer margin of each folio. 15 lines per page, *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. There are collation signs at the end of each quire, added by a different hand than the main text. This second scribe also noted corrections in the margins.

Date: Undated

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Comments: The part with the introduction seems to have been attached to the codex at a later stage.

Bibliography: *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium*, 2: 1–2.

d *Vienna, ÖNB, MS Mxt. 664*

Contents: Genesis (1v–61r), Exodus (62r–109v), Leviticus (110r–141v), Numbers (142v–190v), Deuteronomy (191r–232r).

232 fols. (111 is a later replacement). Oriental paper, 9.7 × 6.7 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by *rūmi* numerals. Catchwords on each folio. 15 lines per page; formal *naskh*, fully vocalized. Chapter headings are rubricated. Later emendations are found in the margins.

Date: Undated

Scribe: Unknown

Ownership note: 232r

برسم خزانة الحضرة الامجدية وطراز الملة النصرانية ذو القريحة الواقدة والبصيرة النقادة برسوم ابن يوحنا.

Reader's notes: fol. 1r

Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Bibliography: Gustav Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen handschriften der Kaiserlich-königlichen Hofbibliothik zu Wien* (Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1865–66), 3: 3–4; GCAL 1: 103.

e *Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 2*

Contents: Genesis (1v–76r), blank (76v–77r), Exodus (77v–132v), blank (133r), Leviticus (133v–169v), blank (170r), Numbers (170v–223v), blank (224r), Deuteronomy (224v–268v).

268 fols. Oriental paper, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers, catchwords on each folio, 15 lines per page. *Naskh*, sporadically vocalized. Chapter headings are rubricated.

Date: Undated (14th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113). The weekly *parashot* are sporadically marked, e.g. fol. 8r الفصل الثامن وهو اول الفراشة الثانية.

Bibliography: Mai, *Scriptorum veterum*, 4: 2–3; Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 94–97, 36*–49*; *GCAL* 1: 103.

f *Birmingham, Mingana, MS Christian-Arabic 7*

Contents:

1. Genesis 3:7–end (1r–32r), Exodus (32r–58r), Leviticus (58r–76r), Numbers (76v–102v), Deuteronomy (102v–125r), *blank* (125v–126v).
2. Psalms (127r–167r).
3. Translation of biblical songs (Song of Moses, Song of Hannah, etc.) (167r–170v), blank (171r–172r).
4. Gospels (172v–249v).

249 fols. Ruled paper, 24.2 × 18.4 cm, catchwords on each folio, 21 lines per page. Formal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. Chapter headings are rubricated. The first two folios (Genesis 1:1–3:7) are missing. Each of the four sections was copied by a different hand.

Date: Undated (17th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Ownership note: On fol. 170v, in Arabic script and *karshūnī*, mentioning Ghūrī Isṭīfān. He is also known as the copyist of Birmingham, Mingana, MS Christian-Arabic 12.

Text divisions: The manuscript has several text divisions: The Langton chapters are referred to as *faṣl*. The Coptic divisions, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113), are also referred to as *faṣl*. In addition, the manuscript marks the Hebrew weekly *parashot.*

Bibliography: Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, 2: 7–9; *GCAL* 1: 104.

g *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 24*

Contents: Genesis (1r–33v), Exodus (33v–61r), Leviticus (61v–81v), Numbers (81v–108v), Deuteronomy (109r–129v).

130 fols. Paper, 35 × 23 cm, 21–26 lines per page.

Date: Fol. 129v, 28 Amshīr 1411 AM (4 March 1695 CE)

Scribe: Copied by Yusūf ibn Gabryal for the teacher (*al-muʿallim*) Ḥām Abū Yusūf (fol. 129v)

Comments: The text resembles Saadiah's *Tafsīr*, with some variants.

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 103; Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 93; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 28.

h *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 51*

Contents: Numbers (1r–64r), blank (64v–66r), Deuteronomy (66v–127r).

128 fols. Paper, 25 × 19 cm, 12–13 lines per page. *Naskh*, sporadic vocalization. Bequeathed to the Monastery of St. Anthony by Anbā Athanasius, Bishop of Abū Tīj (fol. 127r).

Date: Fol. 64r: 23 Bābah 1527 AM (= 1 November 1810 CE)

كمل بعون الله تعالى سفر العجج و لموسى النبي بركاته معنا امين في ثالث وعشرون بابه 1527
للسهدا الا طهار

Scribe: Copied by Anṭūnī (fols. 64r and 127r)

Bibliography: Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 101; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 70.

i *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 184*

Contents: Genesis (7r–69r), Exodus (73r–127v), Leviticus (128r–170r).

184 fols. Paper, 32 × 21 cm, 15 lines per page. *Naskh*, sporadic vocalization.

Date: Fol. 170r: 27 Kiyahk 1490 AM, corresponding to 10 Ṣafar 1198 AH (= 1784 CE)

وكان الفراغ من هذه الكتاب المبارك يوم الاحد المبارك سابع عشرين شهر كيهك القبطي من شهور سنة 1490 للشهدا الاطهار النوافق ذلك عشر شهر صفر من شهور سنو للشهدا الاطهار النوافق ذلك عشر شهر صفر من شهور سنة ثامنية وتسعين ومابة والف للّهجرة.

Scribe: Unknown

Comments: Many illuminations: e.g. Moses (5r), Jesus as a shepherd (69v), Aaron as high priest (71r), and the Ark of the Covenant (71v).

Bibliography: Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 50; Atalla, *Illustrations from Coptic Manuscripts*, 15.

j *Cairo, Coptic Museum, MS Bibl. 1*

Contents: Genesis (2r–76v), Exodus (77r–137v), Leviticus (138r–179v), Numbers (180r–241v), Deuteronomy (242r–294v).

294 fols. (1–3 are a later replacement). Occidental paper, 20 × 14 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers. Catchwords on each folio, 9–15 lines per page. Chapter headings are rubricated. Formal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. Fols. 76v, 137v, 179v, 241v, and 293v all bear the notation that the manuscript was donated to the Coptic Patriarchate on 15 Bābah 1628 AM (26 October 1911 CE).

Date: 294r, 14 Hatūr 1337 AM; 5 Muḥarram 1030 AH (= 30 November 1620 CE)

Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113). The weekly Hebrew *parashot* are marked sporadically.

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 103; Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 1; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 1: 16.

k *London, BL, MS Add. 11855*

Leviticus and Deuteronomy belong to this branch; see description above.

l *Paris, BnF, Ar. 4*

Leviticus and Deuteronomy belong to this branch; see description above.

m *Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS Ar. 75*

Leviticus and Deuteronomy belong to this branch; see description above.

1.3 Arab^{Heb}1c: The Enlarged Coptic Branch

Manuscripts in this group supplement the basic text of the *Tafsīr* with a set of additional texts. It falls in two subgroups. In the first, the translation is preceded by an edificatory proem that deals with the place of Mosaic Law (Arab. *al-sharīʿa al-musawiya*). Each book of the Pentateuch is preceded by a short summary of its contents, referred

to as the "study guide" (Arab. *dallāl*). The manuscripts end with an account, called the "epilogue" (Arab. *al-khātima*), on how the Hebrew Scriptures were handed down by an authoritative, unbroken line of transmitters until they were eventually translated into a variety of languages and thus became corrupted. In the second subgroup of manuscripts, Saadiah's *Tafsīr* is interspersed with the commentary by Mark ibn al-Qunbar.

First group:

a *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 15*

Contents:

1. Introduction (1v–4v).
2. Summary of chapters for Genesis (5r–10r), translation (10v–83v), summary of chapters for Exodus (84r–87v), translation (88r–147v), summary of chapters for Leviticus (148r–151r), translation (152r–194v), summary of chapters for Numbers (148r–151r), translation (202r–259v), summary of chapters for Deuteronomy (260r– 261v), translation (262v–314r).
3. Introduction (314v–316r); see GCAL 2: 289–290.

   316 fols. Paper, 20 × 15, 13 lines per page. *Naskh*, almost full vocalization. The final colophon states that this manuscript was copied from a *Vorlage* that was collated with Hebrew manuscripts.

Date: Undated (17th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Bibliography: GCAL 1: 103, Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 104; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 18.

c *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 16*

Contents:

1. Introduction (1r–4v).
2. Summary of chapters for Genesis (5r–11r), translation (11v–97v), summary of chapters for Exodus (98r–101v), translation (102v–171r), summary of chapters for Leviticus (171v–175r), translation (175v–222r), summary of chapters for Numbers (222v–229v), translation (230r–300r), summary of chapters for Deuteronomy (300v–303v), translation (304r–363r).
3. Introduction (300v–303v); see GCAL 2: 289–290.

   364 fols. Paper, 20 × 15 cm, 14 lines per page, *naskh*. Fol. 36v states that this manuscript was copied from a *Vorlage* that was collated with Hebrew manuscripts.

Date: Undated (18th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 103, Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 106; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 18.

c *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 18*

Contents: Summary of chapters for Genesis (1v–5v), translation (6v–66v), summary of chapters for Exodus (67r–70r), blank (70v–71r), translation (71v–119v), blank (120r), summary of chapters for Leviticus (120v–123r), blank (123v–124r), translation (124v–160r), summary of chapters for Numbers (160v–166r), blank (166v–167r), translation (167v–218v), blank (219r), summary of chapters for Deuteronomy (219v–222r), blank (222v–223r), translation (223v–268r).

270 fols. Paper, 20 × 14 cm, 15 lines per page. At the beginning of each book there are illuminated gold panels. The manuscript was copied for the teacher (*al-muʿallim*) Yūsuf of al-Burullus by Sharābī ibn Dumyān of Hitān (fol. 268v), donated to the Patriarchate by Anbā Butrus, the 109th patriarch (fol. 6r).

Date: 268v: 15 Rajab 1034 AH (= 22 April 1625)

وكان الفراغ من مصحف هذه التوراة المقدسة يوم الثلاثا المبارك اواسط شهر رجب الفرد سهور سنة اربعة وثلاثين والف الهلالية

Scribe: Sharābī ibn Dumyān (fol. 268v)

Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 103; Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens,* 106; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 21–22.

d *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 19*

Contents: Summary of chapters for Genesis (1r–5v), translation (6r–86r), summary of chapters for Exodus (68v–91r), translation (91v–155r), summary of chapters for Leviticus (155v–158v), translation (159r–200v), summary of chapters for Numbers (201r–207r), translation (207v–262r), summary of chapters for Deuteronomy (262v–265r), translation as far as Deut 33:2 (265v–311v), with a lacuna between 308r and 309v (Deut 31:19–32:8 desunt).

312 fols. Paper, 20 × 15 cm, 15 lines per page, *naskh*.

Date: Unknown

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Bibliography: Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 105; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 18–19.

e *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 23*

Contents:

1. Introduction (1r–4v).
2. Summary of chapters for Genesis (5r–10v), translation (11r–77r), summary of chapters for Exodus (77v–81r), translation (81v–129r), summary of chapters for Leviticus (129v–133r), translation (133v–165r), summary of chapters for Numbers (165v–171r), translation (172r–216v), summary of chapters for Deuteronomy (217r–219r), translation (219v–259r).

266 fols. Paper, 22 × 16 cm, 15 lines per page. *Naskh*, almost full vocalization. Donated to the Monastery of St. Anthony by Anbā Buṭrus (Peter VII), the 109th Patriarch, in Ba'ūnah 1527 AM (1811 CE).

Date: Undated (18th–19th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113). The Hebrew weekly *parashot* are marked sporadically.

Bibliography: Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 105; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 72.

f *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 28*

Contents:

1. Summary of chapters for Genesis (1r–4r), translation (5r–49r), summary of chapters for Exodus (49v–52r), translation (52v–87v), summary of chapters for Leviticus (88v–90v), translation (91r–114v), summary of chapters for Numbers (115v–119r), translation (119v–153r), summary of chapters for Deuteronomy (153v–155r), translation (155v–185v).
2. Introduction (186r–186v); see GCAL 2: 289–290.

187 fols. (1–10, 20–24, 27, 94 are a later replacement). Paper, 29.2 × 19.3 cm, 5 bifolia per quire, numbered by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers, 21–22 lines per page, naskh.

Date: 187r: 13 Ṭūbah 1324 AM, corresponding to 10 Shawwāl 1016 (= 27 January 1608 CE)

وكان الفراغ من كتب هذا المصحف اتضمن خمسة اسفار التوراة الموسوية في يوم الاثنين
المبارك ثالث عشري (!) شهر طوبي (!) من 1324 قبطية الموافق ذلك عاشر شهر شوال من
شهور سنة ستة عشر والف

Scribe: Unknown
Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).
Bibliography: Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 104; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 20–21.

g *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 183*
Contents:
1. Introduction (1v–5r).
2. Summary of chapters for Genesis (5v–11v), translation (12r–130v), summary of chapters for Exodus (131r–137v), translation (138r–223r), summary of chapters for Leviticus (223v–227r), translation (228r–289r), summary of chapters for Numbers (289v–299r), translation (299v–386v), summary of chapters for Deuteronomy (387r–391r), translation (391v–464v).
3. Introduction (465r–467r); see *GCAL* 2: 289–290.

467 fols. (the first folio is a later replacement). Paper, 30 × 21 cm, 13 lines per page. *Naskh*, almost fully vocalized. Donated to Coptic Patriarchate by Anbā Buṭrus (Peter VII), the 109th patriarch, on 26 Tūbah 1530 AM (2 February 1814 CE).
Date: Fol. 467r, 13 Jumādā I 1050 AH (= 31 August 1640 CE)

وكان الفراغ من هذا المصحف الشريف المتضمن خمسة اسفار الموسوية في يوم الجمعة
المبارك ثالث عشر جمادى الاول من شهور سنة خمسين بعد الالف

Scribe: Unknown
Text divisions: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).
Bibliography: Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 22.

Second Group:

a *Cairo, Coptic Museum, MS Theol. 193*
Contents: Genesis. The codex contains the commentary by Mark ibn al-Qunbar. His translation, however, was replaced by Saadiah's *Tafsīr* in the Coptic transmission in this manuscript.

224 fols. (9–11, 20 and 226 were replaced later, using paper with the watermark of the Egyptian government). Occidental paper, 28 × 19 cm, 5 bifolia per quire, 19–20 lines per page. Formal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized.
Date: Undated
Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: As found in the commentary by Mark ibn al-Qunbar; see Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 107–108.

Bibliography: Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 41; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 65.

b *Cairo, COP, MS Theol. 3*

Contents: Genesis. The codex contains the commentary by Mark ibn al-Qunbar. His translation, however, has been replaced by Saadiah's *Tafsīr* in the Coptic transmission in this manuscript.

190 fols. Paper, 32 × 20 cm, 21 lines per page, *naskh.* Donated to the Monastery of Anbā Būla by Anbā Yūsāb, Bishop of Qusqām.

Date: Fol. 152r: 16 Bashans 1576 AM (1860 CE)

Scribe: Mina, minister of the Church of the Virgin in the Hārat Zuwayla, Cairo.

Bibliography: Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 169.

c *Cairo, COP, MS Theol. 5*

Contents: Genesis. The codex contains the commentary by Mark ibn al-Qunbar. His translation, however, has been replaced by Saadiah's *Tafsīr* in the Coptic transmission in this manuscript.

248 fols. Paper, 30 × 22 cm, 21 lines per page, *naskh*.

Date: Fol. 248r: 23 Abīb [no year given]

Scribe: Gabriel Zaʿtar of al-Maḥalla al-kubrā for the master (*al-muʿallim*) Butrus Abū Jirjis.

Bibliography: Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 92.

d *Coptic Catholic Patriarchate, MSS 5-1* (*According to the Spools at BYU*)

Content: Genesis (1v–6v, 18r–185v, 7r–v), Exodus (8v–17v, 186r–270v), Leviticus (274v–307r), Numbers (307v–311v). The codex contains the commentary by Mark ibn al-Qunbar for Genesis and Exodus. His translation, however, has been replaced by Saadiah's *Tafsīr* in the Coptic transmission in this manuscript. Leviticus and Numbers exhibit **Arab$^{\mathrm{Syr_Hex}}$1b.**

311 fols. Paper, 19 × 12 cm, 21 lines per page, *naskh*.

Date: Unknown (19th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

1.4 Arab$^{\mathrm{Heb}}$1d: The Revised Coptic Branch

A revised version, based on the earlier basic type, also exists. It is represented in manuscripts that resulted from the Coptic-Jewish collaboration described in Chapter 1.

Copies of this type include a preface, which compares Saadiah's translation to other Christian, Jewish, and Samaritan versions. Its anonymous author added a system of rubricated marks to the body of the text. Variant readings, text-critical observations, etymological notes, and explanations of the Hebrew original are noted between the lines and in the margins. The enterprise was prompted by the wish to return to the *Tafsīr*'s original Judaeo-Arabic character.

a *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 1*

Contents: Introduction (1v–3r), Genesis (3v–24r), Exodus (24v–41v), blank (42r), Leviticus (42v–53r), Numbers (53v–68r), Deuteronomy (68r–83v), blank (84r–86r), Joshua (86v–96v), Judges (97r–107r), 1 Samuel (107v–122v), 2 Samuel (123r–135v), 1 Kings (136r–142v), 2 Kings (142v–168v) 1 Chronicles (168v–181r), 2 Chronicles (181v–195v), blank (196r), 1 Esdras 1 (196v–202r), Ezra 1:1-Nehemiah 2:13 (202r–205v), Nehemiah (205v–209v), blank (210r), Tobit (210v–213v), Judith (214r–218v), Esther (219r–221v), Job (222v–230r), blank (230v–232r), Psalms (232v–267r), blank (267v), Isaiah (268r–292r), Jeremiah (292v–315v), 1 Baruch (315v–317r), Lamentations (318r–320r), Epistle of Jeremiah (320r–321r), Ezekiel (321v–345v), blank (346r), preface to Daniel (346v–347v), translation (348v–359v), blank (360v), Minor Prophets (360v–387v), blank (388r–390v), Wisdom (391r–396v), Proverbs (397r–406r), Ecclesiastes (406v–409r), Canticles (410r–441r), Ecclesiasticus (411v–424r), blank (424v–429r), 2 Maccabees (429r–439r), 5 Maccabees (see below, 439v–458r).

458 fols. Ruled and watermarked occidental paper, 34.5 × 23.5 cm, 5 bifolia per quire, 29 lines per page, *naskh*.

Date: There are multiple colophons, ranging from Ramaḍān 992 to Muḥarram 993 AH (September 1584 to January 1585).

Scribe: Copied by four distinct scribes, two of whom identify themselves.
Fol. 387r: ʿAbd Rabbih ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shaʿrānī
Fol. 404r: Faḍl Allāh ibn Tādrus ibn Yūsuf[2]

Comments: On the significance of this MS, see Chapter 1. Translations from Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek *Vorlagen* are found side-by-side. The first textual unit, the Pentateuch in the version of Saadiah Gaon, begins with an anonymous preface. The second textual unit, covering Joshua through Job, derives from Syriac *Vorlagen*. The third section is the Psalter of ʿAbdallāh ibn Faḍl of Antioch, a translation from Greek. The next section is al-ʿAlam of Alexandria's translation of the Prophets. The remaining books, too, were translated from Greek. Finally, the last text, an Arabic epitome of the originally Judaeo-Arabic translation of the Hebrew *Sefer Yosippon*, known as 5 Maccabees in modern research, is appended to the codex.

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2 He is also known as the scribe of Cairo, Coptic Museum, MS Liturg. 311 and possibly MS Bibl. 75.



FIGURE 5 *Paris, BnF, Ar. 1, fol. 3v, ©BnF.*

Bibliography: Tychsen, "Über die Quelle"; idem, "Untersuchung ob R. Saadjah Haggaon Verfasser der arabischen Uebersetzung des Pentateuchs in den Polyglotten sey," *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur* 11 (1782): 82–112; Alberto Vaccari, "Le versioni arabe dei Profeti," *Biblica 1* (1920): 266–268; GCAL 1: 92, 94, and

102; Ronny Vollandt, "The Arabic Pentateuch of the Paris Polyglot: Saadiah Gaon's Advent to the Republic of Letters," in Sara Binay and Stefan Leder, eds., *Linguistic and Cultural Aspects of Arabic Bible Translations* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2012): 19–35.

b *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 32*

Contents:

1. Introduction (1v–2v), blank (3r).
2. Genesis (3v–21v), Exodus (21v–36r), Leviticus (36v–46r), blank/*waqf* note (47r), Number (47v–60v), blank (61r), Deuteronomy (61v–74r), Joshua (75v–83v), Judges (83v–92r), blank (93r), 1 Samuel (93v–107r), 2 Samuel (107v–119r), 1 Kings (119v–128r), 2 Kings (129v–150r), 1 Chronicles (150v–162v), blank (163r), 2 Chronicles (163v–177v), Ruth (178r–179v), Psalms (130v–212r), Minor Prophets (212v–233r), Isaiah (233v–255v), Jeremiah (255v–280v).

280 fols. Paper, 32 × 22, 29 lines per page.

Date: 26 Hātūr, without year (= 22 November [1585]).

Fol. 226r, 5 Muḥarram 994 AH (= 27 December 1585 CE)

Scribe: One of them can be identified as ʿAbd Rabbih ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shaʿrānī (see above).

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 103; Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 96, Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 14–15; Knutsson, *Studies in the Text and Language*, 27–28, pl. 14; Samir Khalil Samir, "Trois Versions Arabes du Livre des Juges. Réflexions critiques sur un livre récent," *OC 65* (1981): 101–102.

c *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 21*

Contents: Genesis (11r–43r), Exodus (43v–71r), Leviticus (71v–92r), Numbers (92v–120r), Deuteronomy (121v–147r), Joshua (147v–167v), Judges (168v–189v), 1 Samuel (190v–221r), 2 Samuel (221v–247v), 1 Kings (248v–265r), commentary on 1 Kings (265v–281v), 2 Kings (282r–310v), 1 Chronicles (311v–337v), 2 Chronicles (338v–369r).

369 fols. Paper, 29 × 20 cm, 19 lines per page.

Date: Fol. 147r, 14 Bābah 1304 AM (= 22 October 1587 CE)

Scribe: Unknown

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 108; Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 96, Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 15.

1.5 Arab^{Heb}1e: Independent Recensions

In this group Saadiah's translation is reproduced faithfully and presented as a strict transcription of Judaeo-Arabic *Vorlagen* into Arabic letters, with no attempt to adapt the text to any biblical tradition.

a *Istanbul, Topkapi, MS 3522*

Contents:

1. Saadiah's introduction (1v–4v)
2. Pentateuch (4v–191r)

192 fols. Paper, 19 lines per page, *naskh*, sporadic vocalization. *Ihmāl* signs: a small sublinear letter for /*ḥā*ʾ/ and a diagonal stroke for /*sīn*/ and /*rā*ʾ/.

Date: Fol. 192r, 2 Ramaḍān 649 AH (= 17 November 1251)

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: weekly Hebrew *parashot*, referred to as *juzū*

Comments: The formulas used in the colophon (192r), in particular the phrase لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله, indicate that the copyist was a Muslim.

Bibliography: Fuʾād Sayyid, *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, 3 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Riyāḍ lil-Ṭabʿ wa-al-Nashr, 1954–60), 1: 5.

b *Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. Ar. 129*

Contents: Genesis (1–62),[3] Exodus (63–104), Leviticus (105–140), Number (141–188), Deuteronomy (188–206).

122 fols. Paper, 28.7 × 21 cm, 15 lines per page. *Maghribī* (or *andalūsī*) script, sporadic vocalization. The *ihmāl* sign for /*ḥā*ʾ/ is a minuscule letter. Hebrew incipits are given in Hebrew letters. They are often omitted, especially in Numbers and Deuteronomy, where they are missing from successive folio pages. A later hand added corrections and supplements to the body of the text.

Another later hand filled the first page of the codex (left blank by the original scribe) with the Arabic text of *surat al-baqara* (Q 2:139) and the *fātiḥa*, both accompanied by a transcription into Latin characters. In addition, he supplemented the Hebrew incipits omitted by the first copyist and added continuous chapter and verse divisions according to modern usage, in Greek and Latin numerals. It is possible that the decorations marking the Hebrew *parashot* are also his. He divided the entire Pentateuch into liturgical divisions that do not correspond to any known system. Each section is called *bāb*, a rather uncommon designation for biblical divisions in Arabic. The second writer also added numerous glosses in Greek. His writing in Greek and Latin characters is fluent, in contrast to the portions in Hebrew and Arabic letters, which display a clumsy and inexperienced flow.

Date: Undated (17th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Hebrew weekly *parashot*

3 I follow the pagination in the codex, which leaves out the first folio.

Ownership notes: Fol. 1 contains an ownership note, stating that the manuscript was copied on behalf of a certain schoolmaster (*faqīh*), ʿĪsā ibn Ibrāhīm.

Comments: The headings for Exodus, Leviticus, Number, and Deuteronomy include a transcription of their Hebrew names in Arabic letters: fols. 63 and 104 الى شموت, fol. 104 ويقرا, fol. 140 بمدبار سيناي, fol. 188 الى هدباريم. These transcriptions have led several scholars to assert that the copyist was a Qaraite (Edelmann, "On the Arabic Versions," 74); Blau (*The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*, 40 n4); Chiesa, "Un Testimone della Traduzione Araba," 206). It should nevertheless be noted that they by no means represent the strict Qaraite transliteration practice, which would for example have ايلا شموث rather than الى شموت (cf. London, BL, MS Or. 2540, fol. 3v, as published by Reinhart Hoerning, *British Museum Karaite MSS. Descriptions and Collation of six Karaite Manuscripts of Portions of the Hebrew Bible in Arabic Characters* [London: Williams & Norgate, 1889]). They are in fact semi-phonetic transliterations that seem to have their origin in Erpernius's *Pentateuchus Mosis Arabicè* (1622), which exhibits the same headings.

Of special interest are a few instances that indicate that the scribe worked from a manuscript in Hebrew letters.[4] Saadiah's translation of כְּתוֹעֲפֹת "*like* the lofty horns [of the wild-ox]" in Num 23:22 and 24:8 as כארק, which consists of the particle of similitude and the rarely attested plural form of *rawq* "horn," led him into confusion. Misinterpreting the form as an active participle, he transcribed it as خارق (fol. 29r, olim 157r) in both verses. In Num 24:9 he copied the apparently undotted ג'ת'א "kneeled," which renders כָּרַע, as غثا (fol. 29r, olim 157r), due to the similarity of the letters *jīm* and *ghāʾ* in Judaeo-Arabic.[5]

Bibliography: Adler, *Kurze Übersicht*, 173–176; Tisserant, *Specimina Codicum*, xxxviii and 52; idem, "Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits arabes du fonds Borgia à la Bibliothèque Vaticane," in *Miscellenea Francesco Ehrle* (Rome: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1924), 5: 17; Philip Hiat, *A Visual Testimony: Judaica from the Vatican Library* (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1987), 94; Edelmann, "On the Arabic Versions," 74; Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*, 40 n4; Chiesa, "Un Testimone della Traduzione Araba."

2 *Arab^{Syr}: Translations from the Syriac*

In addition to the version of the Pentateuch (**Arab^{Syr}1**) that was the focus of Part Two of this study, there are other Arabic translations from a Syriac *Vorlage*. **Arab^{Syr}2** was a popular translation and is found in many manuscripts of diverse geographical provenance, including Egypt and Spain. **Arab^{Syr}2** became the preferred translation of the

4 These instances were already noted by Adler, *Kurze Übersicht*, 176.

5 Adler reads غشا.

Peshiṭta Pentateuch, to the point that it completely supplanted **Arab^{Syr}1**. Sinai, MS Ar. 4, copied in 963 CE, is the earliest attested manuscript and serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the translation. The striking similarities to ʿAlī ibn Rabban's quotations may indicate that it already existed in the ninth century (Chapter 4.1). **Arab^{Syr}2** is usually featured in the manuscripts containing **Arab^{Heb}1a** for the books of Exodus and Numbers (see above). It is also found in the replacement folios of London, BL, MS Add. 11855. The text of **Arab^{Syr}3** appears to be a compromise between the two aforementioned versions and their translation technique.

2.1 Arab^{Syr}1

See Part Two of this study.

a. Sinai, MS Ar. 2
b. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hunt. 186
c. St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS D 226 (2v–26r)

2.2 Arab^{Syr}2

For details, see Chapter 3.2.

a *Sinai, MS Ar. 4*

Contents: Genesis (1r–64v), Exodus (65r–125v), Leviticus (126v–170v), Numbers (171v–229v), Deuteronomy (230v–280v).

281 fols. (The first folios, containing Gen 1:1–2:10, are missing) Oriental paper, 20 × 14 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers on the upper margin of each page. 16–19 lines per line, informal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized.

Date: 3 Rajab 353 AH (= 16 July 963 CE)

Fol. 281r

وانقضى نسخها يوم الجمعة لثلث ليال خلون من رجب سنة ثلث وخمسين وثلثماية وكان ذلك
لليوم من تموز يوم عيد مر قراقوس وهى بخط جبريل بن موسى المعروف بابن حييلعه (؟)
الكاتب رضى الله عنه رضا ابراره واحبايه ورحم من قرا او قرى عليه فقال امين امين

Scribe: Jibrīl ibn Mūsā. Another manuscript by his hand is Sinai, MS Ar. 580; see Lewis and Gibson, *Forty-one Facsimiles*, 8–10.

Reader's note: fol. 281r

طالع في هذه التورية المقدسة عبد عبيد الكلمة الالهية ميخاييل المصري بدير طور سينا
المقدس وذلك في سنة سبعماية واحد للّهجرة الرب الاله يعفو لمن دعى له

Text division: *aṣḥāḥ*

Bibliography: Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*; 3; idem, *al-Fahāris al-taḥlīliya*, 28–29; Blau, "Über einige christlich-arabische Manuskripte."

b *Oxford, New College Library, MS 335*

Contents: Genesis (2v–86v), Exodus (87r–158v), Leviticus (159r–212v), Numbers (213r–284r), Deuteronomy (284r–348r), Syriac–Arabic bilingual.

351 fols. (fols. 1–20 are a later replacement, on occidental paper). Ruled Oriental paper, 33 × 25 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by Syriac letters; foliation in Syriac letters. Two columns, 22 lines per page, formal *naskh*.

Date: 9 Ayyār 1504 AM, Jumādā I 589 AH (= 1193 CE)

Fol. 348r–350r

نجزت وكملت الخمسة اسفار من التوراة يوم الاربعا التاسع ليلة مضت من شهر ايار سنة الف
وخمس ماية واربع سنين اليونانية الواقعة من سنين سنة تسع وثمانين وخمس ماية في شهر
جمادى الاولى (!) وكتب هذا الكتاب العربي ابو سعيد ايسوع القربالا[...] ابن ابو سعيد
القس ابن ابو الفرج القس المقيم ببيعة التكارتة [...] نجز فراغ هذا الكتاب بالبيعة التي هي على
اسم القديسين الطاهرين ماركيوركيس ومار [...] بمحروسة الموصل

Scribe: Abū Saʿīd ʿĪsūʿ (for the Arabic), Thomas bar Josef (for the Syriac); see Koster, *The Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 17.

Place: Mosul

Text division: Incipits, *aṣḥāḥ*

Bibliography: Henry Octavius Coxe, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in collegiis auslique* (Oxford: E Typographeo Academico, 1852), 1: 120; *GCAL* 1: 108; a specimen was published by Koster, *The Peshiṭta of Exodus*, 213.

c *Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Diez quart. 106*

Contents: Genesis (1r–46v), Exodus (47r–85r), Leviticus (86r–111r), Numbers (112r–148r), Deuteronomy (149r–183r).

The folios added later correspond to the text of the *Propaganda Fide* edition apart from minor details. Deuteronomy exhibits **Arab$^{\text{Syr_Hex}}$1b**.

183 fols. (1r is blank, 1r–2r are a later addition by a different hand, on occidental paper). Ruled Oriental paper, 24.5 × 18.5 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by Arabic numerals in the lower margin and signature in the form of spelled-out numbers in the upper margin; 21 lines per page, formal *naskh*,

sporadically vocalized. *Ihmāl* signs: /*sīn*/ and /*rāʾ*/, a stroke. Text is in two columns, with rubricated chapter headings.

Date:

Fol. 46v: 8 Dhū al-Qaʿida 678 AH (= 11 March 1280 CE)

انقضا بعون الله وقوته جميع السفر الاول من اسفار التورية وهو سفر الخليقة وهو اربعة ثلثون اصحاحا في الثامن من شهر ذي القعدة سنة ثمان وسبعين وستماية

Fol. 85r: 15 Dhū al-Qaʿida 678 AH (= 18 March 1280 CE)

تم السفر الثاني من اسفار التورية وهو سفر الخروج بقوة الله وعونه في يوم الثلثا خامس عشر ذي القعدة سنة ثمان وسبعين وستماية وهو ستة عشرين اصحاحا

Fol. 148r: 27 Dhū al-Qaʿida 678 AH (= 30 March 1280 CE)

تم السفر الرابع من التورية وهو سفر اعداد بني اسرايل يوم الثلثا سابع عشرين ذي القعدة سنة ثمان وسبعين وستماية

Scribe: Unknown

Ownership notes: Various, on fol. 46v

Text division: Chapter incipits, *aṣḥāḥ*; Deuteronomy: *faṣl*

Comments: The manuscript consists of four different codicological units. The scribe of the later replacements refreshed faded portions of the earlier codex, crossed out a number of readings, and marked new ones on the margins. A third hand added sporadic corrections in the margin. A fourth hand added modern chapter divisions.

Bibliography: Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, 10 vols. (Berlin: A. Asher, 1897), 9: 525–526; *GCAL* 1: 106; Arthur Vööbus, "Der Einfluss des altpalästinischen Targums," *Museon 68* (1955), 128.

d *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 13*

Contents:

1. Genesis (1r–64v), Exodus (65r–112v), Leviticus (113r–149r), summary of chapters (149r–153r), Numbers (153v–199v), Deuteronomy (200r–243v).
2. An account of Melchizedec (fol. 244)

Only Genesis-Leviticus are **Arab$^{\mathrm{Syr}}$2**. Numbers is al-Hārith's version (**Arab$^{\mathrm{Syr_Hex}}$1a**), including his summary of chapters. Deuteronomy is similar to **Arab$^{\mathrm{Syr_Hex}}$1b**.

245 fols. The first folio—Gen 1:1:10—is missing. There are lacunae between 81 and 82 (Gen 14:31–16:18) and between 90 and 91 (Gen 24:1–25:10). Oriental paper,

25.7 × 17.3, 5 bifolia per quire. Foliation in *rūmī* numerals; 17–19 lines per page, formal *naskh*, very rarely vocalized.

Date: Undated (15 cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Incipits, *aṣḥāḥ*

Comments: This manuscript was probably the *Vorlage* of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Seld. A 66. See further comments there.

Bibliography: Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, 1: 18; Nasrallah, "Deux versions," 206–208; *GCAL* 1: 107.

e *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 15*

Contents: Genesis (1r–77v), Exodus (78v–139v, 141r–156r), Leviticus (157r–212v), Numbers (213r–280r), Deuteronomy (280r–286v, 140, 287r–320v).

The later replacements contain **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Copt}}$. Genesis-Leviticus exhibit **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr}}$**2**. Numbers and Deuteronomy are similar to **Arab**$^{\mathbf{Syr_Hex}}$**1b**.

322 fols. 1–7, 16, 66–67, 319–322 are a later replacement on Occidental watermarked paper. The last folios (Deut 28:8–34:12) are missing. Ruled Oriental paper, 20 × 14 cm, 5 bifolia per quire; foliation in *rūmī* numerals, 14 lines per page, *naskh.* The restoration of the codex was done by Mūsā (fol. 322v), a disciple of the Patriarch Yuwākim, in the year 7087 of the Era of Adam (1579 CE).

Date: Undated (12–13 cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Text divisions: Incipits, *aṣḥāḥ*

Bibliography: Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, 1: 19; *GCAL* 1: 103–104, 108

f *Florence, BML, MS Or. 77 (olim 15)*

Contents: Genesis

47 fols. Ruled Oriental paper, 25.5 × 17.5, 4 bifolia per quire, 19–22 lines per page, formal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. *Ihmāl* signs: /*sīn*/, a crescent.

Date: Undated

Scribe: Unknown

Text division: Incipits, *aṣḥāḥ*

Bibliography: Stefano Evodio Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, 58; *GCAL* 1: 103 (ascribes the version to a Greek *Vorlage*).

g *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Seld. A 66*

Contents:

1. An account of Melchizedec (fol. 1r–2v).
2. Genesis (4v–67r), Exodus (58r–122r), Leviticus (134r–164r), Numbers (165r–222v), Deuteronomy (223v–274v).

3. Table that indicates when the different lections are to be read (fol. 275).

   The later replacement folios contain **Arab^Greek^.**

   277 fols. (4, 11, 273 are a later replacement). Ruled Oriental paper, 26 × 18.5 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers in the top margin of each page. Foliation in *rūmī* numerals, 17 lines per page, formal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. *Ihmāl* signs: /*ḥā*ʾ/, a minuscule letter, rubricated chapter headings.

Date: Unknown

Scribe: Unknown

Ownership notes: Various; fol. 57v mentions Ḥamāt and Antakya

Comments: The manuscript is the direct *Vorlage* of Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 525. It also seems to be related to Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 13, which was already missing Gen 1:1–1:10, 14:31–16:18 and 24:1–25:10 (see above). In copying from this manuscript, the scribe of this MS filled them in from another source (**Arab^Greek^**). In addition, Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 13 also contains the story of on Melchizedec.

Bibliography: Uri, Nicoll, and Pusey, *Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ codicum manuscriptorum*, 1 (Codices Christiani): 30; *GCAL* 1: 108.

h *Leiden, University Library, MS Or. 215*

Contents: Genesis (1v–46v), Exodus (46v–77r), Leviticus (77r–96v), Numbers (96v–125v), Deuteronomy (125r–146v).

146 fols. (the first and last folios are missing; the first surviving folio is damaged). Oriental paper, 31 × 24 cm; impossible to determine the number of bifolia per quire. 18 lines per page, *maghribī* or *andalusī*, fully vocalized. *Ihmāl* signs: /*ḥā*ʾ/, a minuscule sublinear letter. The text is in two columns; rubricated chapter headings.

Date: Undated

Scribe: Unknown

Ownership notes: fol. 2v

اقبض من الشيخ سعد قطب

Text division: *aṣḥāḥ*

Comments: The manuscript appears to be related to Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Ar. 234, because it contains the same text type. In addition, the homoeoteleutons in the latter are copied over faithfully. A modern reader noted Hebrew and Latin translation equivalents in the margin.

Bibliography: Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, 49; *GCAL* 1: 103 (Graf believed the MS exhibits Saadiah's translation).

i *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,* MS *Ar. 234*

Contents:

1. Genesis (1r–19r), Exodus (19r–34r), Leviticus (34v–46r), Numbers (46r–62v), Deuteronomy (62v–77r).
2. Gospels, in the version of Isaac ibn Velasquez (78v–128v).

128 fols. Paper, 28 × 21 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by catchwords at the end of each quire. 33 lines per page. *Maghribī* or *andalusī*, sporadically vocalized; chapter headings are rubricated; many marginal notes.

Date: 23 Rajab 898 AH (= 10 May 1493 CE)

Fol. 77v:

تم السفر الخامس من التورية المنزلة وبتمامه تم الديوان المبارك والحمد لله رب العالمين وبالله التوفيق والله المستعان وعليه التكلان وهو حسبنا ونعم لوكيل لا رب غير ولا مبعود سواه وذلك في غزة يوم السبت الثالث والعشرين لرجب الغرد المبارك من عام ثمانية وتسعين وثمانماية

Scribe: Unknown (Muslim; see Graf, "Ein arabischer Pentateuchkommentar")

Text divisions: *aṣḥāḥ*

Comments: The manuscript belonged to Widmannstetter (fol. 1r). There a many marginal notes by a different hand, in Castilian and Arabic. The titles of the books are indicated in *aljamiado* on each folio.

Bibliography: Aumer, *Die Arabischen Handschriften*, 75; Graf, "Ein arabischer Pentateuchkommentar"; Vööbus, "Der Einfluss des altpalästinischen Targums"; Monferrer Sala, "A Nestorian Arabic Pentateuch"; *GCAL* 1: 108.

j *Vatican,* BAV, MS *Ar. 525*

Contents: Genesis (3r–49r), Exodus (49v–86v), Leviticus (87r–112r), Numbers (112v–147r), Deuteronomy (147v–176r).

Genesis 1:1–11 contains **Arab$^{\textbf{Greek}}$**.

179 fols. Paper, 20 lines per page, late *naskh*, catchwords on each folio. The beginning and end of each book are decorated.

Date: Undated (17 cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Text division: *aṣḥāḥ*

Comments: The manuscript seems to be related to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Arch. Seld. A 66, and to Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 13. A note on fol. 2r indicates that the manuscript previously belonged to the College of St. Petri in Monte.

Bibliography: Mai, *Scriptorum veterum*, 4: 540; GCAL 1: 108.

k *Cairo, COP, MS New 61*

Contents: Exodus (47r–54v, 1r–41v), Leviticus (10v–41v).

49 fols. Paper, 22 × 16 cm, 17 lines per page, *naskh*.

Date: Unknown

Scribe: Unknown

Text division: *aṣḥāḥ*

l *Genizah Fragments*

1 CUL, T-S Ar. 41.122

Contents: Gen 26:15–27:17

1 folio, paper, 25.5 × 19 cm; 22 lines per page, *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. *Ihmāl* signs: /*ḥāʾ*/, sublinear minuscule letter; /*rāʾ*/, a crescent. Rubricated chapter headings.

Bibliography: Colin F. Baker and Meira Polliack, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections: Arabic Old Series* (*T-S Ar.1a–54*) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 372.

2 CUL, T-S Ar. 41.129

Contents: Gen 19:9–23; 38:16–30; 40:17–25; 41:7–10; Exod 5:11–22; 6:2–13

9 folios (4 bifolia), paper, 27.5 × 16 cm, 9–12 lines per page, *naskh.*

Bibliography: Baker and Polliack, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts*, 373.

3 CUL, T-S NS 327.92, belongs with the Previous

Contents: Num 6:20–30

1 folio, paper, 21.4 × 16.1 cm, 10 lines, *naskh.*

Bibliography: Friedrich Niessen and Avihai Shivtiel, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections. Taylor-Schechter New Series* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 543.

4 CUL, T-S NS 327.128, belongs with the Two Following

Contents: Exod 22:22–29; 22:30; 23:1–7

1 folio, paper, 20.7 × 14.3 cm, 14 lines per page, diacritical points and vocalization used sporadically. *Ihmāl* signs: /*ḥāʾ*/, supralinear minuscule letter; /*rāʾ*/, a crescent, /*sīn*/, a diagonal stroke. Chapter headings are rubricated and followed by a diamond-shaped mark.

Bibliography: Niessen and Shivtiel, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts*, 545.

5 CUL, T-S NS 297.258

Contents: Exod 34:10–22; 34:13–16

1 folio, paper, 9.6 × 13.9 cm, 7 lines per page. T-S NS 297.258 and T-S NS 297.259 are separated parts of the same bifolium.

Bibliography: Niessen and Shivtiel, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts*, 404.

6 CUL, T-S NS 297.259

Contents: Exod 34:9–11, 18–22; 35:22–36:2

2 folios (bifolium), paper, 20.8 × 28.4 cm, 8–14 lines per page.

Bibliography: Niessen and Shivtiel, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts*, 404.

2.3 Arab^{Syr}3

a *Birmingham, Mingana, MS Christian-Arabic 4*

Contents: Genesis (1r–40v), Exodus (40v–90v), Leviticus (91r–134v), Numbers (135r–193r), Deuteronomy (193v–230v).

230 fols. Many folios are missing at the beginning (Gen 1:1–25:25) and the end (Deut 17:17–end), as well as between 4–5, 35–36, 43–44, 46–47, 64–65, 72–73, 73–74, 76–77, 77–78 and 85–86. Ruled Oriental paper, 25 × 17.2 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by abjad numeration, 19 lines per page, *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. *Ihmāl* signs: /*ḥā*ʾ/, minuscule letter; /*sīn*/, diagonal stroke. Chapter headings are rubricated.

Date:

Fol. 40r: 22 Rabīʿ II 669 AH, 29 Kānūn I 669 AH (= 7 December 1270 CE)

نجز السفر الاول في ثاني عشرين من الربيع الثاني سنة تسع وستين وستماية وهو تاسع عشرين من كانون الاول الواقع في السنة

Fol. 90v: Jumādā I 669 AH (= January 1271 CE)

كمل السفر الثاني من التوراة وهو سفر المخرج بني اسرايل من مصر في شهر جمادى الاولى سنة تسع وستين وستماية

Fol. 134v: Jumādā I 669 AH, 28 Kānūn II 669 AH (= January 1271 CE)

كمل السفر الثالث من التوراة وهو سفر الاحبار في شهر جمادى الاولى من سنة تسع وستين وستماية وهو ثامن عشرين من كانون الثاني الواقع في السنة المذكورة

Fol. 193v: 11 Jumādā II 669 AH, 24 Ashbāṭ 669 (24 January 1271)

كمل [...] في حادي عشر جمادى الاخرة سنة تسع وستين وستماية وهو رابع عشر اشباط الواقع في السنة المذكورة

Copyist: ʿĪsa ibn Abī Ṭāhir ibn Abī Naṣr ibn al-Baḥrī
Text divisions: Incipits, *aṣḥāḥ*
Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 106; Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, 2: 1–2.

3 *Arab^{Syr_Hex}: Translations from the Syro-Hexapla*

3.1 Arab^{Syr_Hex}1a

A translation of the Pentateuch (Chapter 3.2) into Arabic was transmitted in the name of the West-Syriac scholar al-Hārith ibn Sinān. It was based on the Syro-Hexaplaric version of Paul, bishop of Tella (ca. 617). Al-Hārith added introductory chapters of two sorts. The first is referred to as a *risāla*, in which he goes into great detail about earlier biblical translations, in response to the request of an unnamed patron. In particular, he describes Origen's *Hexapla*, including its arrangement in columns and the notational system used to indicate variants between the LXX and the Three. There are also introductions to each book of the Pentateuch, which, following the custom of Syro-Hexaplaric manuscripts, provide a short summary of the contents. Manuscripts of Melkite provenance usually adhere to this arrangement, while those copied by Coptic scribes usually dispense with the introductory chapters. Uri, Nicoll, and Pusey (*Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ codicum manuscriptorum*, 2 (*Codices arabici christiani*): 44 mention Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Or. 461, which contains only a modern copy of the introduction. Also Dayr Abū Maqār, MS Bibl. 1 (3r–10v, cf. Ugo Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr: inventaire* (Genève: Cramer, 1986): 1.) and St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS D 226 (1r, see below) exhibit among other texts al-Hārith's introduction.

a *Sinai, MS Ar. 10*

Contents: Summary of chapters (1r–7v), translation of Genesis (8r–56v), introduction to Exodus (57r–57v), summary of chapters (58r–60v), translation (61r–100r), introduction to Leviticus (100v–101r), translation (101v–128r), Numbers (129r–170v), Deuteronomy (171r–205v).[6]

205 fols. Fol. 4 is a later replacement, fol. 3 is not in its right place and contains portions of Deuteronomy. Oriental paper, 27 × 18 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers in the top margin of each page, foliation in *rūmī* numerals, 19 lines per page; formal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. *Ihmāl* signs: /*sīn*/ and /*rā*ʾ/, a diagonal stroke.

Date: 950 AM (= 1233/34 CE) at the Monastery of Saint Paul the Anchorite

6 The sequence of folios on the microfilm is confused.

Fol. 205r
ونقل هذا الكتاب المقدس بدير القديس ابا بولا اول السواح قبالة البحر الاحمر بحر القلزم
في سنة تسعماية وخمسون للشهدا الاطهار

Copyist: Unknown
Comments: The codex contains numerous glosses; e.g. Deuteronomy ends with the remark (fol. 205v): في الارض كنعان الذي يسكن مما يلي المغرب قريبا من جلجال ويقرب ايضا من البلوط المرتفع القريب من قرية سخيم هذا وجد في نسخة السمرة زايد.
Bibliography: Atiya, The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai, 3; idem, *al-Fahāris al-taḥlīliya*, 37–39; Nasrallah, "Deux versions": 206–208; GCAL 1: 107.

b *Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 1*

Contents:
1. Introduction (1r–10v).
2. Introduction to Genesis (11r–18r), summary of chapters (18v–27v), translation (28r–101r), introduction to Exodus (101v–102v), summary of chapters (102v–106v), translation (107v–163r), introduction to Leviticus (163v–164r), summary of chapters (164v–167v), translation (168r–203r), summary of chapters for Numbers (203v–207v), translation (208v–256v), summary of chapters for Deuteronomy (257r–259v), translation (260r–299v).

300 fols. Oriental paper, 25 × 17 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers in the top margin of each page. The manuscript was copied by two scribes (fols. 1–159 = quires 1–16 and fols. 160–301 = quires 17–30). Foliation in *rūmī* numerals is found in the portion executed by the second scribe. The first scribe wrote 19 lines per page, the second, 18 lines per page. Formal *naskh*, almost fully vocalized. *Ihmāl* signs: /*sīn*/ and /*rā'*/, in the form of a crescent. There are collation marks at the end of each quire.

Date: 1 Ba'ūnah 1045 AM (= 1320 CE)

Fol. 299v:
كمل نسخ هذا المصحف المقدس في يوم الجمعة اول يوم من شهر بؤنه سنة خمس واربعون
والف للشهدا الاطهار رزقنا الله بركاتهم امين

Scribe: Unknown
Text divisions: Hexaplaric *kephalaia*

Comments: The codex was commissioned by the Archdeacon Saʿīd al-Dawla from the city of Qus. The first folio notes that the manuscript belonged to the Biblioteca Palatina before it arrived at the Vatican Library.

Bibliography: Mai, Scriptorum veterum, 4: 1–2; Nasrallah, "Deux versions," 206–208; GCAL 1: 107.

c *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Or. 258* (*olim A 147*)

Contents:

1. Introduction (1r–9v).
2. Introduction to Genesis (10v–18v), summary of chapters (19v–30r), translation (30v–115v), introduction to Exodus (116v–118r), summary of chapters (118r–123v), translation (124v–199v), introduction to Leviticus (200r–201v), summary of chapters (201v–206r), translation (206v–254r), summary of chapters for Numbers (254v–260v), translation (261v–331v), summary of chapters for Deuteronomy (332v–337r), translation (337v–356v).

356 fols. First folios are missing. Ruled Oriental paper, 27.5 × 20 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers on at the end of each folio. Foliation in *rūmī* numerals, 13 lines, calligraphic *naskh*, almost fully vocalized.

Date: Undated

Scribe: Unknown

Comments: The codex was presented to Laud by Cyrillus Lucari, Bishop of Constantinople. Fol. ii has a note by Cyrillus; see Henry Octavius Coxe, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in collegiis auslique* (Oxford: E Typographeo Academico, 1973), xxvii.

Text divisions: Hexaplaric *kephalaia*

Bibliography: Uri, Nicoll, and Pusey, *Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ codicum manuscriptorum*, 1 (*Codices Christiani*): 29–30; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1: 617–619; Paulus, *Commentatio critica*, 72–80; Curt Peters, "Grundsätzliche Bemerkungen," 130; Nasrallah, "Deux versions," 206–208; *GCAL* 1: 107.

d *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Or. 243* (*olim A 146*)

Contents:

1. Introduction (1r–12v).
2. Introduction to Genesis (13r–17v, 28r–32v), summary of chapters (18r–24v, 33v–37r), translation (25v–27v, 38r–117v), introduction to Exodus (118v–119v), summary of chapters (102v–125v), translation (126v–192r), introduction to Leviticus (391v–194v), summary of chapters (195v–199v), translation (200v–245v), summary of chapters

for Numbers (246v–252r), translation (253v–318v), summary of chapters for Deuteronomy (319r–323r), translation (324r–378v).

379 fols. Fols. 18–37 are out of order. Ruled Oriental paper, 28 × 19 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers at the end of each quire, foliation in *rūmī* numerals. 19–20 lines per page, semi-formal *naskh*, sporadically vocalized, rubricated chapter headings.

Date: Undated

Scribe: Unknown

Comments: There are many corrections in the margins. The Greek form of proper names is often found between the lines.

Text divisions: Hexaplaric *kephalaia*

Bibliography: Uri, Nicoll, and Pusey, *Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ codicum manuscriptorum*, 1 (*Codices Christiani*): 29; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1: 617–619; Paulus, *Commentatio critica*, 72–80; Curt Peters, "Grundsätzliche Bemerkungen," 130; Nasrallah, "Deux versions," 206–208; *GCAL* 1: 107.

e *El Escurial, MS Ar. 1857*

Contents:

Introduction to Genesis (1v–12v), summary of chapters (13v–25r), translation (26v–129r), introduction to Exodus (130v–132r), summary of chapters (132v–139r), translation (140v–225r), introduction to Leviticus (226v–227v), translation (228v–293r), Numbers (294r–379r), Deuteronomy (380v–454r).

454 fols. Oriental paper, 13 lines per page, formal *naskh*, almost fully vocalized.

Date: Undated

Scribe: Unknown

Bibliography: Nasrallah, "Deux versions," 206–208; *GCAL* 1: 107; Nemesio Morata, "Los Fondos Árabes Primitivos de el Escorial," *al-Andalus* 2 (1934): 144.

f *Istanbul, Süleymaniye, MS Carullah 3*

Contents: Summary of chapters for Genesis (1r–10r), translation (10v–78r), Exodus (103v/1v–57v),[7] Leviticus (60v–99r), summary of chapters for Numbers (99v–104r), translation (105v–163v), Deuteronomy (165v–214v).

320 fols. Oriental paper, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by spelled-out Arabic numerals, foliation in *rūmī* numerals, 17 lines per page, *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. Chapter headings are rubricated.

Date: Undated (13th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

7 The foliation starts over again in the middle of Exodus.

Comments: The manuscript appears to have originally included the introduction to Genesis, which fell out, as suggested by the *rūmī* foliation. There are many glosses in Coptic, both in the margins and between the lines.

g *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 13*

Numbers contains al-Hārith's version (see above).

Bibliography: Nasrallah, "Deux versions," 206–208; GCAL 1: 107.

h *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 14*

Contents: Genesis (1v–85v), Exodus (86r–154r), Leviticus (154r–201v), Numbers (202r–258v), Deuteronomy (259r–307v).

The first few folios contain **Arab$^{\mathbf{Copt}}$**, while the orignal parts of Genesis and Exodus contain the translation of al-Hārith. Leviticus–Deuteronomy exhibit **Arab$^{\mathbf{Syr_Hex}}$1b**.

307 fols. Ruled Oriental paper. Fols. 11, 16, 23, 24, 51–56, 61, 66, 72, 75, 82–85, 93–94, 101, 103–104, 106, 110, 117 are dyed red. 25 × 17.5 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. Their order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers, foliation in *rūmī* numerals, 14–15 lines; *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. Chapter headings are rubricated.

Date: Undated (14th cent.)

Scribe: Unknown

Ownership notes: *ex libris* Christian Rau (Constantinople, 20 December 1639), ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Saʿd al-Dīn, inscribed on the first folio, which lacks a folio number.

Text divisions: *aṣḥāḥ*, Palestinian *sedarim*, and weekly *parashot*.

Bibliography: Gérard Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes: Première partie: manuscrits chrétiens nos. 1–6933* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1972), 18–19; Nasrallah, "Deux versions," 206–208; *GCAL* 1: 107.

i *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 14*

Contents:

1. Introduction (1r–13v).
2. Summary of chapters for Genesis (13v–33r), translation (33v–119v), summary of chapters for Exodus (120r–127r), translation (127v–208v), summary of chapters for Leviticus (209r–216r), translation (216v–273v), summary of chapters for Numbers (274r–281r), translation (281v–361v), summary of for Deuteronomy (362r–366v), translation (367r–439v).

440 fols. The last four folios are severely mutilated, and folios are missing between 6r–6v and between 204v–205r. Paper, 22 × 16 cm, 15 lines per page, *naskh*, sporadic vocalization.

Date: Fol. 439v, 28 Amshīr 1372 AM (= 4 March 1656 CE)

Scribe: Unknown

Bibliography: Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 24; Nasrallah, "Deux versions," 206–208; GCAL 1: 107; Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 102–103.

j *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 27*

Contents: Genesis (1r–79r), summary of chapters for Exodus (79v–85r), translation (85v–153r), summary of chapters for Leviticus (153v–159r), translation (159v–206v), summary of chapters for Numbers (207r–212v), translation (213r–284r), summary of chapter for Deuteronomy (285r–287r), translation (287v–340v).

340 fols. 80–92, 224 are later replacements. Paper, 22 × 16 cm, 16 lines per page, rubricated titles. Parts of the codex were restored in Abīb 1625 AM (= 1909 CE). The introductory sections were left out in the restoration. The first quire (fols. 1–8) was written by a more recent hand.

Date: Fol. 156r, 3 Shaʿbān 730 AH (= 22 May 1330 CE)

تم كتاب المخرج وهو السفر الثاني على ما نقله الاثنان السبعون مما ترجمه الحرث ابن سنان في
ثالث شعبان المكرم سنة ثلاثين وسبع ماية

Scribe: Unknown

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 107; Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 105; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 9; Nasrallah, "Deux versions," 206–208.

k *Cairo, COP, MS New 56*

Contents: Numbers 13:30–36:13 (1r–18v, 20rv, 19rv, 31r–33r), Deut 1:1–29:29 (33v–40v, 21r–30v).

40 fols. 1–6, 10, and 40 are badly torn. Many leaves are covered with tissue, rendering the text almost illegible. Paper, 43 × 31 cm, 19–20 lines per page, *naskh*.

Date: Unknown

Scribe: Unknown

l *Joun, L'Ordre Basilien du Saint-Sauveur, MS 224*

Contents:

1. Text on the calendar (1–8)[8].
2. Commentary on Genesis (9–12).

8 The foliation is inconsistent, but has been retained for convenience.

3. Genesis (13–163), introduction to Exodus (164–165), translation (166–192), introduction to Leviticus (193–194), translation (195–294), Numbers (295–516), introduction to Deuteronomy (517), translation (520–621).
4. Commentary on sections of Genesis (623–690).

   345 fols. The first textual unit is codicologically distinct; 9–22, 37–38, 41–42, 51–52, 54–55, 114–117, 145–146, 164–165, 219–220, 293–294, 391–394, 517–519, 561–562, 569–572, 593–594, 601–602, 611–612, 619–621 are later replacements. Paper, 4 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers, 15 lines per page (differs in the later replacements), *naskh*, sporadic vocalization. The chapter headings are marked in red, blue, and gold ink.

Text division: Unknown division, referred to as *faṣl*.

Comments: Genesis is incomplete. The Jewish weekly portions are marked and their Hebrew names are given in Hebrew script.

Bibliography: Nasrallah, “Deux versions,” 206–208.

m *Stockholm, National Library of Sweden, MS A777*

Contents:

1. Introduction (2r–3v).
2. Introduction to Genesis (4r–4v), summary of chapters (5r–8v), translation (9r–38r), Exodus (38v–67r), introduction to Leviticus (67v–68r), summary of chapters (68v–69), translation (70r–102r) summary of chapters for Numbers (102r–106r), translation (106v–152r), summary of chapters for Deuteronomy (152v–155r), translation (155v–188v).

   189 fols. Occidental paper, 32.5 × 20.5 cm, 27–37 lines per page, European hand, sporadically vocalized.

Comments: Judging from the watermarks, the manuscript was written in the late 16th or early 17th century.[9] The manuscript seems to have been written by at least two scribes. It was rebound at an unknown date in modern times. The Ex Libris on fol. 1r reports that the manuscript originally consisted of 299 folios; there are now 188 folios. It was purchased from the collection of F. Schürrer von Waldheim (Fol. 1r). Given that many books in Schürrer von Waldheim’s collection came from the library of Bengt Oxenstierna, it seems likely to assume that this manuscript has the same origin and was brought to Sweden as spoils of war.

n *Aleppo, Collection Khūkāz*

Sbath (*al-Fihris*, no. 293) mentions another copy in Aleppo. Its whereabouts today are not known.

Bibliography: Nasrallah, “Deux versions,” 206–208.

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9 See http://www.piccard-online.de/struktur.php?sprache.

3.2 Arab^{Syr_Hex}1b

Another text type, preserved in a group of later manuscripts (13th century onwards) of predominantly Melkite provenance, seems to be directly related to or based on al-Ḥārith's translation. The manuscripts usually dispense with the *risāla* and summary of contents. The precise origin and characteristics of this adaptation are yet to be established. Numbers and Deuteronomy are usually found in the manuscripts, which contain Mark ibn al-Qunbar's translation and commentary (see Chapter 3.1). The first group of manuscripts, with **Arab$^{\mathbf{Heb}}$1b** for Genesis, contains this text type for Leviticus and Deuteronomy (see above).

a *Sinai, MS Ar. 3*

Contents:

1. Introduction, with summary of chapters (2r–23v)[10].
2. Genesis (24v–104r), Exodus (104v–175r), Leviticus (175r–207v), Numbers (208v–272r), Deuteronomy (272v–330v), Joshua (331v–372r).

373 fols. Oriental paper, 25 × 17.5 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers on the top margin, foliation in *rūmī* numerals, 17 lines per page, *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. Chapter headings are rubricated.

Date: 9 Kānūn II 1670 of the Seleucid Era, 6868 of the Creation and 1358 CE

Fols. 330v–331r

[…] يوم الاربعا تاسع شهر كانون الثاني سنة الف وستماية وسبعين للاسكندر اليوناني الموافق لنبي ادم سنة ستة الف وثمان ماية وثمانية وستين الموافق لسنة الف وثلثماية وثمانية وخمسين للمسيح

Scribe: Yusūf ibn Subāt al-Āmadī al-Suryānī
Ownership note: Fol. 2r

صار من عوادي الزمان في نوبة العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى عيسى بن سعيد الطيب بمدينة الشام نفعه الله

Bibliography: Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, 3; idem, *al-Fahāris al-taḥlīliya*, 24–27.

10 The sequence of folios on the microfilm is confused.

b *St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS D 226*

Fols. 2v–26r contain **Arab^{Syr}1**; the rest of the Pentateuch exhibits **Arab^{Syr_Hex}1b**.

Contents: Vol. 1: al-Ḥārith's preface to Genesis (1r), translation (1v–32v), opening page (33r), preface to Exodus (33v), translation (34v–57v), blank/notes (57v), opening page (58r), preface to Leviticus (58v), translation (59r–74r), blank (74v), preface to Numbers (75r), translation (75v–96v), opening page (97r), preface to Deuteronomy (97v), translation (98r–117r), blank/notes (117v), Joshua (118v–133r), Judges (133v–146v), blank (147r), 1–2 Samuel (147v–178r), 1–2 Kings (178v–211v), opening page (212r), Ruth (212v–214r), opening page (215r), preface to Psalms (215v–216v), blank/notes (217r), translation of Psalms (217v–252).

For the other two volumes, see Valerii Polosin, "The Arabic Bible: Turning Again to an Old Controversy," *Manuscripta Orientalia 6* (2000): 3–18.

The manuscript consists of three textual units. The first was copied by scribe A, who uses the name of Poimēn of Damascus (see below); it covers the first two volumes, as well as the third through the end of Judith (vol. 3, fol. 53v). The second unit, written by scribe B, comprises Tobit (vol. 3, fols. 55r–62v). On a separate quire, with smaller dimensions (see below), it is clearly distinct from the rest. The last unit, which contains the New Testament, was copied mainly by scribe C, Abū Ghālib ibn Abū al-Fahm ibn Abū al-Ḥasan al-Masīḥī, plus 10 folios added by scribe A (vol. 3, fols. 131–141). These three units differ codicologically.

Vol. 1: 255 fols. (the first three unnumbered folios and fols. 118, 133, 147 are a later addition); vol. 2: 333 fols.; vol. 3: 267 fols. 35 × 23.5 cm (the second unit was originally smaller—only about 21 cm wide—and strips of paper were glued to it so it would match the rest of the codex). Ruled Oriental paper, 5 bifolia per quire. 26 lines per page (first unit); 17–26 lines per page (second unit); 23 lines per page (third unit). Formal naskh, sporadically vocalized. The text is laid out in two columns (except for Judith and Tobit). The Old Testament is dedicated to Patriarch Laurentius of Antioch (vol. 1, fol. 116r).

Date: 16th cent.

Scribe: Three different scribes (see below).

Ownership notes: There are several; see Serge Frantsouzoff, "Pripiski k arabskoj rukopisnoj Biblii (D226) iz sobranija Instituta vostochnykh rukopisej RAN kak istoricheskij istochnik" [Marginal Notes in the Arabic Bible (St. Petersburg, Oriental Institute, MS D226) as a Historical Source], *Vestnik PSTGU,* III: *Filologija* 3 (2009): 38–57. A note (vol. 1, fol. 56v) states that the entire manuscript (i.e., OT+NT) was in the possession of ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā of Tripoli in 1538/9. In 1618 it was donated by Sulaymān ibn Jurjī to the monastery of al-Balamand (vol. 2, fol. 1r), from where it was taken by Gregory IV to be given to Czar Nicholas II.

Comments: In his contribution to the Russian Academy of Science in late 1925, Krachkovskii conjectured that this manuscript was the *Vorlage* of Vatican, BAV, MS

Ar. 468. He demonstrated the depency of some of the colophons in the Vatican copy on that of the copy today preserved in St Petersburg. In addition, as Krachkovskii shows, the latter was kept in Tripoli, to the time the former was copied there. Frantsouzoff corroborated his claim with additional observations. He also proved that a copyist in the 16th century must have copied the colophons of an older manuscript produced by Poimēn of Damascus (Bīmīn al-Dimashqī < Ποιμεν, as found on vol. 1, fols. 33r, 76r, 117r, and vol. 2, fol. 114r), who also used the name Sābā al-Sīqī, which he took after taking his vows (*sīq* = "monastery, hermit's cell").[11]

As for the Pentateuch, the scribe of MS Vatican copied over all the clerical errors faithfully and imitated the opening formulas of each book. However, fols. 2v–26r of MS St. Petersburg contain a different text. Thus the manuscripts are only partially dependent on each other.

Bibliography: Ignatii Krachkovskii, *Arabskie rukopisi iz sobraniia Grigoriia IV, patriarkha antiokhiiskogo* [The Arabic manuscripts of the collection of Gregory IV, Patriarch of Antioch] (Leningrad, 1924), idem, "Original vatikanskoj rukopisi arabskogo perevoda Biblii" [The original of a Vatican manuscript of an Arabic translation of the Bible], *Doklady Akademii Nauk, Series B* (1925): 84–87; Alberto Vaccari, "La storia d'una Bibbia araba," *Biblica* 11 (1930): 350–355; N. M. Brovenko, "An Arabic Bible in the Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies: The Problems of Restoration," *Manuscripta Orientalia 4* (1998): 35–38; Sebastian Euringer, "Zum Stammbaum der arabischen Bibelhandschriften Vat. ar. 468 and 467," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 7 (1929): 259–273; idem, "Zum Stammbaum der arabischen Bibelhandschriften Vat. ar. 468 and 467. Nachträge zum Band 7 [1929] S. 260 ff," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 8 (1932): 266–267; Polosin, "The Arabic Bible"; idem, "Starejšaja rukopis' polnoj Biblii na arabskom jazyke (Vozvraščenie k davnišnej diskussii)" [The oldest manuscript of a complete Arabic Bible. Continuation of a previous discussion], *Christianskij Vostok* NS 5 (2009): 71–91; Valerii Polosin and E. Rezvan, "To the CD-ROM Edition of the St. Petersburg Arabic Bible," *Manuscripta Orientalia 3* (1997): 40–47, Serge Frantsouzoff, "Pripiski k arabskoj rukopisnoj"; idem, "L'édition du Livre arabe des Macchabées dans les Polyglottes de Londres et la Bible manuscrite de St. Pétersbourg," *Travaux de symposium international Le Livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe.* (Bucharest: Éditeur Bibliothèque de Bucarest, 2011), 2: 85–86; *GCAL* 1: 89–92.

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11 Compare Michael Jan de Goeje, "Sīq," *ZDMG 54* (1897): 336–338. This word seems to be restricted to Melkite communities and entered Arabic through Syriac ܫܘܩܐ (*lit.* "street, lane"), by analogy to Greek λαυρα (*lit.* "lane," but later used to designate a monastery or hermit's cell).

c *Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 468*

Contents:

Genesis (1v–42v), Exodus (43r–71v), Leviticus (71v–90v), Numbers (91r–118r), Deuteronomy (118r–141v), blank (142r–142v), Joshua (143r–162v), Judges (163r–182v), Ruth (183r–185v), 1 Samuel (186r–212v), 2 Samuel (212v–234v), 1 Kings (235r–260r), 2 Kings (260r–284r), blank (284v), 1 Chronicles (285r–307v), 2 Chronicles (307r–323r), Esdras A (323v–335r), Ezra (335r–343v), Nehemiah (344r–351v), blank (352r–354v), Tobit (355r–362v), Judith (363r–375r), Esther (375r–381r), Job (381v–399v), introduction to Psalms (400r–401v), Psalms (402r–446v), blank (447r), Wisdom (447v–459r), Proverbs (459v–479r), Ecclesiastes (479v–486r), Canticles (486v–490r), Sirach (490v–518v), blank (519r), Isaiah (519v–568r), Jeremiah (568v–609r), blank (610r–616v), Ezekiel (617r–651v), Daniel (652r–668r), Hosea (668v–673r), Amos (673v–677r), Micah (677v–680v), Joel (681r–683r), Obadiah (683r–683v), Jonas (684r–685r), Nahum (685v–686v), Habakkuk (686v–688r), Zephaniah (688r–689v), Haggai (689v–690v), Zechariah (691r–696v), Malachi (696v–698v), 2 Maccabees (699r–718r), 5 Maccabees (718v–759v).

760 fols. (currently preserved in three parts). Occidental paper, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by by signatures in the form of spelled-out numbers on the upper margin, catchwords on each folio, 24 lines per page, *naskh*. The text is laid out in two columns.

Date:

Fol. 399v: Last days of Tishrīn I 7078 of the Creation, corresponding to Shawwāl 986 AH (= October 1578 CE)

اواخر شهر تشرين الاول من شهور سنة سبعة وثمانين وسبع الاف لابونا ادم الموافق لشهر شوال من شهور سنة ستة وثمانين وتسعاية للحجرة

Fol. 490r: 9 Shubāṭ 7087 of the Creation (= February 1579 CE)

بتاريخ نهار الاثنين تاسع شهر اشباط من شهور سنة سبعة وثمانين وسبع الاف لابونا ادم

Fol. 698v: last day of Nīsān 7087 of the Creation (= April 1579 CE)

اواخر العشر الاخير من شهر نيسان سنة سبع الاف وثمانين وسبعة لابونا ادم

Scribe: Dāwūd ibn Tādrus ibn Wahaba

Comments: The codex, together with Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 467, was produced on behalf of Giovanni Battista Eliano, who commissioned it from Dorotheus, the Melkite bishop of Tripoli (see Chapter 5). A note on fol. 1v indicates that the manuscript was

previously owned by the Maronite College. The manuscript is based in part on St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS D 226 (see the comments there).

Bibliography: See above for St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, MS D 226; Mai, *Scriptorum veterum*, 4: 523–525; Vollandt, "Che portono al ritorno."

d *Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Diez quart. 106*

Contains this text type for Deuteronomy; see above.

e *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 13*

Contains this text type for Deuteronomy; see above.

f *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 14*

Contains this text type for Leviticus-Deuteronomy; see above.

g *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 15*

Contains this text type for Numbers and Deuteronomy; see above.

h *Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 465*

Contents:

1. Genesis (1r–53r), Exodus (53v–95r), Leviticus (95v–125r), Numbers (125v–166r), Deuteronomy (166v–207r).
2. First verses of Joshua (207v).

207 fols. Paper, catchwords on each folio, 22 lines, late *naskh.*

Comments: A note on fol. 1r indicates that the codex previously belonged to the Maronite College. It was copied by two different scribes (fols. 1–79 and 80–207).

Date: Unknown (17th century)

Bibliography: Mai, *Scriptorum veterum*, 4:523; GCAL 1: 105.

4 *Arab^{Greek}: A Translation from the Greek*

Although this version is not attested in a complete manuscript, many later replacements in older codices exhibit the text type. It is found, for example, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Hunt 424 and Arch. Seld. A 66, and in Vatican, BAV, MS Ar. 525 (Gen 1:1–1:11).

5 *Arab^{Copt}: Translations from the Coptic*

As shown above (Chapter 3.3.), the Coptic Church employed various Arabic versions of the Pentateuch. The Arabic translation is found almost exclusively in bilingual Coptic-Arabic codices. It is first attested as a later addition in the outer margins of Vatican, BAV, MS Copt. 1. The marginal text appears to be a faithful translation of the Bohairic version in the older part of the codex. Later, the translations were copied in bilingual

manuscripts that were designed from the outset to present both languages. The translation is also found in later replacements in a number of older codices; e.g. Paris, BnF, MSS Ar. 13, Ar. 14, Ar. 16; Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS Cod. Arab. 75; and Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 22.

a *Vatican, BAV, MS Copt. 1*

Contents: Genesis (1r–65r), Exodus (66v–121r), Leviticus (121v–166r), Numbers (166v–225r), Deuteronomy (225v–275v); Coptic-Arabic bilingual, running left-to-right (Coptic order).

276 fols. Fols. 1–4 are a later restoration, done before the Arabic translation was added. Parchment, 4 bifolia per quire (arranged according to the Gregory rule), 30–35 lines per page, foliation in Coptic numerals, *naskh*, sporadically vocalized. The manuscript is illuminated: full-page drawings of Mary with the infant (61r) and Moses (97v), as well as cranes on several folios.

Date: Undated, but 10th century for the Coptic, 13th century for the Arabic—before 1353 CE, which is the date of Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 12, a direct copy of this MS.

Scribe: Coptic—Solomon of Old Cairo (fol. 166r); Arabic, unknown.

Text division: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Comments: It is evident from the arrangement of the text that the manuscript was intended for the Coptic text only. The Arabic was squeezed into the comparatively narrow empty outer margin. The references to God's speeches to Moses or the Israelites (قال and كلم) are numbered in Coptic numerals and marked in the margin. The inside margin contains glosses and numerous references to alternative renderings (often referring to Saadiah's *Tafsīr*), introduced by *nuskha ukhrā*.

Bibliography: Mai, *Scriptorum veterum*, 4: 114; Henri Hyvernat, *Album de Paléographie Copte: pour servir à l'introduction paléographique des Actes des martyrs de l'Égypte* (Paris and Rome: E. Leroux, Librairie Spithœver, 1888), Pls. 5, 11, 18; Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 36–42; GCAL 1: 104.

b *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 12*

Contents: Genesis (2v–71v), Exodus (72v–131v), Leviticus (132v–175v), Numbers (176v–236r), Deuteronomy (237v–289v).

290 fols. Ruled Oriental paper, 38.5 × 26.5 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by signatures in form of spelled-out numbers, e.g. الكراس الرابع عشر من التوراة المقدسة (fol. 129r), foliation in Coptic numerals, 13 lines per page, calligraphic *naskh*, fully vocalized. Collation notes are found at the end of each quire. *Ihmāl* signs: a small sublinear letter for /*ḥāʾ*/ and a diagonal stroke for /*sīn*/ and /*rāʾ*/.

Date: 28 Abīb 1069 AM, 20 II Jumādā 754 AH (= 1353 CE)

Fol. 289v

تمت التوراة المقدسة بسلام من الرب والسبح والمجد لله الى الابد امين على يد اضعف خلق الله علما وعملا جرجس بن القس المفضل بن امين الملك لطف الله في الثامن والعشرين للشهداء الابرار الموافق العشرين من شهر جمادى الاخرة سنة 754

Scribe: Unknown

Text division: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Comments: The first page and the beginnings of each book are lavishly decorated. A second hand marked variant readings, introduced by /*khāʾ*/ for *nuskha ukhrā*. References to the Coptic source text (marked by the siglum /*qāf*/) are given in red ink in the margins and between the lines. The notes are dated to the middle of the month Shaʿbān of 1353 CE. A third hand added corrections and chapter headings. The codex seems to have been produced in a professional *scriptorium*.

Bibliography: Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 57–61; GCAL 1:104; Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, 17–18; Mathilde Cruvelier, "Le Pentateuque de la Bibliothèque nationale de France: Un manuscrit copte-arabe du 8e/xive siècle," *Annales islamologiques 44* (2010): 207–235.

c *Paris, BnF, MS Copt. 1*

Contents: Genesis (1r–91r), Exodus (94r–175v), Leviticus (178r–236v), Numbers (237r–309r), Deuteronomy (309v–369v); Coptic-Arabic bilingual running left-to-right (Coptic order).

368 fols. Ruled Oriental paper, 5 bifolia per quire, with a collation mark at the end of each quire; foliation in Arabic and Coptic numerals in the upper margin, 28–31 lines per page; *naskh*, sporadically vocalized.

Date: Bābah 1076 AM (= 1360 CE)

Fol. 307v

تمت هذه التوراة المقدسة بسلام من الله امين بيد المسكين الخاطي اكثر من جميع العاجزين الذي لم يستحقك يدعا رجل بالاسم الراهب مخايل ابن ابراهيم [...] وكان تمامها بمدينة الجزة الجيزة في شهر بابه المبارك في التاريخ المذكور[12] وكان النيل بمصر المذكور وهو الف وستة وسبعين للشهداء عشرين دراعا واقام الي لغز(؟)

12 I.e. in the Coptic colophon preceding the Arabic one: 1076 of the Era of Martyrs (1360 CE).

Scribe: Mikhāʾīl ibn Ibrāhīm
Place: Giza
Reader's notes: Fols. 176v and 310r
Text division: None
Comments: The Arabic portion is always to the right of the Coptic—the outer margin on the *recto* and the inner margin on the *verso.* The Coptic and Arabic were written by different hands. The opening folio of each book is elaborately decorated. In contrast to the rest of the codex, the Coptic is written in majuscules and the Arabic in fully vocalized calligraphic *naskh* on these first folios. There are numerous glosses of text-critical and grammatical interest; e.g. on fol. 5v the scribe annotates issues of Coptic lexicography, such as the gender and derivation of words found in the biblical text. He used the left margin of fol. 1v (Gen 1:1–10) and for a running alternative and more literal translation. He also added supra-linear glosses in the Coptic text. These are more literal than the translation in the right margin.
Bibliography: Jean-Baptiste Chabot, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1906), 106; Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 46–52; *GCAL* 1: 104.

d *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Or. 272* (*olim Laud. A 182*)
Contents:
1. Introduction (1r–7r); see *GCAL* 2: 289–290.
2. Pentateuch (7v–235v).

235 fols. Oriental paper, foliation in Arabic numerals, *naskh*, sporadically vocalized.
Scribe: Tūmā
Date: Hatūr 1064 AM (1347/48 CE)

Fol. 58r
كمل بعون الله وتاييده وحسن توفيقه السفر الاول من التوراة وهو سفر الخليقة في اخر
شهر هتور من سنة اربع وستين والف الشهداء والسبح والشكر لله دايما ابدا كتبه العبد
العاجر المذنب توما الحقير في الكهنة المترهب وهو يسئل المسامحة

Ownership note: Fol. 235v
كتبت هذه التوراة المقدسة برسم الخزانة المباركة الشيخية الصفوية ارساني بن القس المخلص
داود ابن القس الامجد

Comments: The codex is splendidly decorated in black, blue, and red ink. It is probably a copy of Vatican, BAV, MS Copt. 1. Fols. 7v and 55r contain glosses in Hebrew

letters. The name of Genesis is given as בראשית, to the left of its Arabic designation سفر الخليقة.

Text divisions: None

Bibliography: Uri, Nicoll, and Pusey, *Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ codicum manuscriptorum*, 1 (*Codices Christiani*): 29; Paulus, *Commentatio critica*; Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1: 617–619, Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 80–82; GCAL 1: 104.

e *London, BL, MS Or. 422* (*Copt. 712*)

Contents: Genesis (1r–63r), Exodus (64v–153v), Leviticus (154r–219v), Numbers (22r–304v), Deuteronomy (305r–364v); Coptic-Arabic bilingual, running left-to-right (Coptic order).

364 fols. Paper, 28.7 × 20.5 cm, 6 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by Coptic numerals. The beginning of each book is illuminated. The text is incomplete (Gen 1:10–7:16, 8:5–14:1, 14:13–37, 20:13–25:26, 30:22–31:5, 34:25–35:4; Num 1:1–17; Deut 28:23–38, 28:53–29:6, 31:26–end are lacking).

Date: 29 Bābah 1109 AM (= 1393 CE)

Fol. 58r

بلغ مقابلة وتصحيحا معارضا بالاصل في تاسع وعشرين من بابه بسنة ⲁⲣⲑ

Ownership note: On various folios وقفا مابدا لدير القيس انبا ابشى

Bibliography: Paul de Lagarde, *Der Pentateuch koptisch* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1867), i–xxxviii; Walter Erwing Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1905), 315; Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 54–56; *GCAL* 1: 104.

f *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hunt. 33*

Contents: Genesis (8r–125v), Exodus (127r–230v), Leviticus (231r–307v), Numbers (308r–413v), Deuteronomy (414r–485v); Coptic-Arabic bilingual, running left-to-right (Coptic order).

495 fols. Paper, 31 × 19 cm, 5 bifolia per quire. The quire order is indicated by Coptic numerals, foliation in Coptic numerals on the upper margin. 27 lines per page, formal, late *naskh*, sporadically vocalized.

Date: 19 Amshīr 1390 AM, corresponding to the last third of the month Safar 1094 AH (= 1674 CE).

Fol. 485v
هذه التوراة المباركة في يوم الثالث المبارك تاسع عشر شهر امشير 1390 للشهدا الاطهار
والموافق ذلك للعشر الثالث بشهر سفر الاخير سنة 1094 هلالية للّهجرة والله هو المحتنن
علينا

Scribe: Unknown

Text division: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Comments: The codex appears to be a copy of Paris, BnF, MS Copt. 1, as the Arabic text alternates between the two different versions in the first folios of that manuscript. Rhode assumes that it was copied through the intermediation of London, BL, MS Or. 422.

Bibliography: Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 52–54; *GCAL* 1: 104.

g *Vatican, BAV, MSS Copt. 2–4*

Contents: Copt. 2: Genesis (1r–85v) and Exodus (86r–158r); Copt. 3: Leviticus (1v–54) and Numbers (55v–123v); Copt. 4: Deuteronomy (1r–60r); Coptic–Arabic bilingual, running left-to-right (Coptic order).

Copt. 2: 158 fols.; Copt. 3: 123 fols.; Copt. 4: 60 fols. Oriental paper, 5 bifolia per quire (marked by Coptic numerals at the opening and closing), foliation in Coptic numerals, 35 lines per page, *naskh* with sporadic vocalization.

Scribe: Gabriel the monk (fol. 55r).

Comments: Copt. 4, fol. 60v, contains a *waqf* note: “The codex was given to the Church of our Lady, the Virgin in Ḥārat al-Zuwayla by John, the 96th Patriarch.” The first unnumbered folio of each volume states that the codex was brought from Egypt by Girolamo Veccietti in 1579 and subsequently given to the Vatican Library by Raimondi in 1614.

Bibliography: Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 42–46; *GCAL* 1: 104.

h *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 1*

Contents: Genesis; Coptic-Arabic bilingual, running left-to-right (Coptic order).

171 fols. Paper, 29 × 21 cm, 5 bifolia per quire, 20–22 lines per page. The title page has an illuminated cross; decorations on top of the second page. Rubricated and decorated titles. Donated by Anbā Buṭrus, the 109th Patriarch, to the monastery of St Anthony on 5 Bābah 1574 AM (= 14th Oct 1857 CE); see fol. 171v.

Date: 19th cent.

Scribe: Unknown

Text division: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Bibliography: Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 76.

i *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 2*

Contents: Gen, Coptic-Arabic bilingual, running left-to-right (Coptic order).

250 fols. Paper, 27 × 20 cm, 15–24 lines per page, two columns, decorations on the front page. Rubricated titles. Donated to the Patriarchate on 16 Bābah 1595 AM (= 25 October 1878 CE).

Date: 19th cent.

Scribe: Unknown

Text division: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Bibliography: Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 81.

j *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 3*

Contents: Genesis (4r–94v), Exodus (95r–168r); Coptic-Arabic bilingual, running left-to-right (Coptic order).

168 fols. Paper, 43 × 29 cm, 34 lines per page. The first two folios have an index of the lessons to be read during Lent and Holy Week and miniatures of Adam and Eve. Rubricated titles. Donated to the Monastery of St. Anthony by Anbā Athanasius, Bishop of Abū Tīj (fols. 94v and 169r). Belongs with Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 4.

Date: Fol. 168v, 9 Tūt 1522 AM, 25 Jumādā al-thānī 1220 AH (18 September 1805 CE)

Scribe: Fol. 168v states that the Coptic text was copied by Yuḥannā, "teacher of children" at al-Azbakiya; the Arabic text was copied by the priest Yuḥannā ibn Mikhāʾil of the Church of our Lady the Virgin, in Ḥārat al-Rūm.[13]

Text division: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Bibliography: Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 67; Atalla, *Illustrations from Coptic Manuscripts*, 8–13.

k *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 4*

Contents: Leviticus (11r–68v), Numbers (68v–139r), Deuteronomy (139v–202v); Coptic-Arabic bilingual, running left-to-right (Coptic order).

197 fols. Paper, 42 × 29 cm, 5 bifolia per quire, 34 lines per page, two columns, decorations and illuminations. Donated to the Monastery of St. Anthony by Anbā Athanasius, Bishop of Abū Tīj (fol. 203v). Belongs with Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 3.

Date:

13 The latter is known to have copied London, BL, MS Or. 1319 as well.

Fol. 68r: Abīb 1521 AM (June/July 1805 CE)

تم السفر الثالث من التوراة المقدسة لموسى عليه السلام في شهر ابيب المبارك سنة الف
وخمس ماية واحد وعشرون للشهدا الاطهار

Fol. 139r: Misra 1521 AM, Jumādā I 1220 AH (July 1805 CE)

وبذلك تم السفر الرابع من التوراة المقدسة وهو سفر الاحصا والمجد لله دايما في شهر
مسري من شهور سنة الف وخمس ماية واحد وعشرون للشهدا الموافق للّهجرة ذي (sic!)
جماد الاول سنة الف ومايتين وعشرين

Fol. 202v: 4 Tūt 1522 AM, 25 Jumādā II 1220 AH (= 20 September 1805 CE).

وهذا التمام من هذا الكتاب الطاهر الثلاثة اسفار لموسى النبي عليه السلام وكان تمامه في حادي
عشر ساعته من يوم الجمعة رابع شهر توت المبارك افتتاح سنة الف وخمسماية واثنين وعشرين
للشهدا الاطهار الموافق لشهر جماد الثاني من شهور سنة الف ومايتي وعشرين من الهجرة

Scribe: Fol. 202v–203v, the Arabic text was copied by the priest Yuḥannā ibn Mikhā'il of the Church of our Lady the Virgin in Ḥārat al-Rūm.

Text division: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Bibliography: Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 68; Atalla, *Illustrations from Coptic Manuscripts*, 20, 196–197.

l *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 5*

Contents: Leviticus (3r–91v), Numbers (92r–203r), Deuteronomy (203v–299v); Coptic-Arabic bilingual, running left-to-right (Coptic order).

299 fols. Paper, 36 × 25 cm, 26 lines per page, decorations and illuminations. Donated to the Patriarchate by Anbā Buṭrus, the 109th Patriarch (fol. 300r).

Date: Fol. 299v, 8 Hatūr 1501 AM (1784 CE)

تم وكمل بعون الله تعالى كتاب الثلاثة اسفار التوراة المقدسة بسلام من الرب امين وكان
الفراغ من هذا الكتاب في يوم الاثنين المبارك اليوم الثامن من شهر هتور المبارك سنة قبطية
1501 للشهدا الاطهار السعدا الابرار

Scribe: Fols. 203r, 299v–300r, Nasīm Abādīr al-Abū Tījī

Text division: Coptic, as described by Rhode (*The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 111–113).

Bibliography: Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 50; Atalla, *Illustrations from Coptic Manuscripts*, 21.

6 *Manuscripts Based on Prints*

6.1 London Polyglot

a *Prague, Jewish Museum, MS 356*

Contents: Genesis 1–3

Contains the portions from Targum Onkelos, the Peshiṭta, the Vulgate, and the Arabic version.

20 fols.

b *Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Ar. 233*

Contents: Genesis

Arabic version, with an interlinear translation into Malay by Petrus van der Vorn in a smaller script.

232 fols. Paper, 32 × 2,5 cm, *naskh*, almost fully vocalized.

Scribe: Ṣafāʾ al-Marwī ibn Ayyūb Abū Yaḥyā

Date: 7587 to the Creation (= 1581 CE)

Bibliography: Rinck, Friedrich Theodor, "Über eine ungedruckte arabische Übersetzung des ersten Buchs Moses zu Mannheim," in Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, ed., *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur*, (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1790/91), 3: 665–669; Aumer, *Die Arabischen Handschriften*, 74–75; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Die Wunder der Schöpfung. Handschrifen der Bayerischen* Staatsbibliothek *aus dem islamischen Kulturkreis* (Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz, 2010): 56–57; *GCAL* 1: 103.

c *Cambridge, University Library, MS Or. 193*

Content: Genesis

Arabic version, with an interlinear translation into Malay by Petrus van der Vorn in a smaller script.

233 fols. Paper, 30.5 × 20 cm, 8 lines per page, *naskh*, almost fully vocalized.

Scribe: Not indicated, but probably the same as above.

Date: 7587 to the Creation (= 1581 CE)

Bibliography: Edward G. Browne, *A Supplementary Hand-list of the Muhammadan Manuscripts, including all those written in the Arabic character, preserved in the libraries of the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922): 125.

6.2 Biblia Sacra Arabica

a *Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 2*

Contents: Ezra (1v–6r), Nehemiah (6v–13r), Tobit (13v–18r), Judith (18v–25r), Esther (25r–31r), Job (31r–43r), Psalms (43r–71v), Proverbs (71v–82v), Ecclesiastes (82v–86v), Canticles (86v–88r), Wisdom (88v–96r), Ecclesiasticus (96r–116r), Isaiah (116r–139r), Jeremiah (139r–166r), Lamentations (166r–168r), Baruch

(168v–172r), Ezekiel (172v–196v), Daniel (196v–207v), Minor Prophets (207v–227r), 1–2 Maccabees (227r–255v), Genesis (256v–282r), Exodus (282r–302v), Leviticus (302r–317r), Numbers (317r–337v), Deuteronomy (338r–355v), Joshua (356r–368v), Judges (369–381v), Ruth (381r–383v), 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings (383v–448r), 1–2 Chronicles (448r–479v).

479 fols. Paper, 25 × 18 cm, 23 lines per page, *naskh*.

Scribe: Unknown

Date: Undated (18th cent.)

Ownership notes: Abū al-Ḥasan (fols. 1r, 256r)

Bibliography: Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, 1: 1; GCAL 1: 93.

b *London, BL, MS Or. 8745*

Contents: Pentateuch (2r–56r), Joshua (56v–63r), Judges (63v–70r), Ruth (70v–71r), 1 Samuel (71v–81r), 2 Samuel (81v–89v), 1 Kings (90r–99r), 2 Kings (99v–109r), 1 Chronicles (109v–118v), 2 Chronicles (119r–129v), Ezra (130r–133r), Nehemiah (33v–138v), Tobit (139r–142r), Judith (142v–147r), Esther (147v–152r), Job (152v–161v), Psalms (162r–182v), Proverbs (183r–190r), Ecclesiastes (190v–193v), Canticles (194r–195r), Wisdom (195v–200v), Ecclesiasticus (201r–216r), Major and Minor Prophets (216v–307r), 1 Maccabees (307v–320v), 2 Maccabees (321r–328r).

Bibliography: *GCAL* 1: 93.

c *London, BL, India Office, MS Islamic 1280*

Contents: Pentateuch (1r–219r), Joshua (220v–250r), Judges (250v–281r), Ruth (281v–285v), 1 Samuel (286r–328v), 2 Samuel (329r–365v), 1 Kings (366r–408v), 2 Kings (409r–449v), 1 Chronicles (450r–489r), 2 Chronicles (489v–536v), blank (3 unnumbered folios), Tobit (537v–551v), Judith (552r–569v), Esther (570r–586v), 1 Maccabees (587v–631r), 2 Maccabees (631v–666r).

d *Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. Ar. 48*

Contents:

1. Genesis and Exodus (1r–39v), Gospels (40r–83v), Acts and Pauline Epistles (84r–122v), blank (122v–131v).
2. Arabic translation of Petri Gisolfo's *Istruzione per ben missionare* (132r–192r).

192 fols.

Bibliography: Tisserant, "Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits arabes," 12; GCAL 1: 160.

e *Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. Ar. 150*

Contents: Genesis

36 fols.

Bibliography: Tisserant, "Inventaire sommaire," 18.

f *Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. Ar. 154*

Content: Genesis

240 fols.

Date: 1776 CE

Scribe: Raphael Tūkhī

Bibliography: Tisserant, "Inventaire sommaire," 18.

g *Vatican, BAV, MS Borg. Ar. 239*

Content:

1. Pentateuch (2r–93r), blank (93v–101r).
2. Epistle of Slibam ibn Yuḥannā (101v–140v), blank (141r–v).
3. Lectionary (142r–218r).
4. Various narratives (219r–297v).
5. *Sharḥ risālat Ibn Zaydūn* (298v–294v).

321 fols.

Bibliography: Tisserant, "Inventaire sommaire," 22.

h *Beirut, Bibliothèque orientale, MS 419*

Contents: Short summary of the Pentateuch (1), Genesis (1–60), Exodus (61–110), Leviticus (110–144), Numbers (144–189), Deuteronomy (190–231), blank (232), Joshua (233–253), Judges (254–282), Ruth (283–286), Tobit (287–297), Judith (298–311), Esther (312–320), 1–2 Kings (321–356), 1–2 Samuel (357–385), 1 Chronicles (381–421), 2 Chronicles (421–454), Wisdom (455–467), blank (468), Proverbs (469–496), Ecclesiastes (467–508), Canticles (509–513), 4 Ezra (514–537), *Sefer Josippon* in Arabic translation (539–627).

627 fols. Paper, 30 × 20 cm, 4 bifolia per quire, foliation in *rūmī* numerals, late *naskh*.

Scribe: Fol. 537, Mikhāʾīl ibn Khūrī Yaʿqūb Naqqāsh

Date: 7198 to the Creation (= 1690 CE)

Bibliography: Louis Cheikho, "Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque orientale," *Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph* 7 (1914): 245.

i *Sharfeh, MS Ar. 1/1*

Contents: Genesis–2 Chronicles

692 fols. Paper, 32 × 22 cm; two columns, 35 lines per page

Bibliography: Isaac Armalet, *Catalogue of the Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts at the Patriarchal Library of Charfet* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006): 1–2.

j *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 29*

Contents: Table of contents (2r–2v), Genesis (3r–16v), Exodus (17r–25v), Leviticus (26v–31v), Numbers (32r–42v), Deuteronomy (43r–49v), Joshua (50r–63v), Judges (64r–76r), Ruth (76v–78r), 1 Samuel (78v–94r), 2 Samuel (94r–105v), 1 Kings (106r–120r), 2 Kings (120v–109r), 1 Chronicles (109v–134v), 2 Chronicles (135r–161v), Ezra (162v–165v), Nehemiah (166r–171v), Tobit (171v–174v), Judith (175r–180r), Esther (180v–185v), Job (186r–196r), Psalms (196v–219v), Proverbs (220r–230r), Ecclesiastes (230v–232v), Canticles (233r–233v), Wisdom (234r–239vr, introduction to Ecclestiasticus (239v), translation (240r–254v), Major and Minor Prophets (255r–322r), 1 Maccabees (322v–330v), 2 Maccabees (331r–334v).

350 fols. Paper, 30 × 21 cm, 26–46 lines per page, late *naskh*.

Bibliography: Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 97; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 19; GCAL 1: 97 and 108.

k *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 31*

Contents: Genesis (2r–41r), Exodus (41v–73r), Leviticus (73v–94r), Numbers (94v–124v), Deuteronomy (125r–152r), Joshua (152v–171v), Judges (172r–193r), Ruth (193v–196r), 1 Samuel (196v–222r), 2 Samuel (222v–243r), 1 Kings (243v–267r), 2 Kings (267v–289r), 1 Chronicles (289v–310r), 2 Chronicles (310v–335r), Ezra (335v–342v), Nehemiah (343r–352v), Tobit (3534–360v).

357 fols. Paper, 22 × 16 cm, 20 lines per page, late *naskh*.

Date: 1 Baʾūnah 1778, corresponding to Rabīʿ I 1186 AH (= 1772 CE)

Scribe: ʿAbd al-Quddūs (Fol. 360v)

Bibliography: Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 96; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 46; GCAL: 1: 97 and 108.

l *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 41*

Contents: Exodus (1r–38v), Leviticus (39r–64r), Numbers (64v–103v), Deuteronomy (104r–138r), Joshua (138v–163v), Judges (163v–189r), Ruth (189v–193r).

194 fols. Paper, 33 × 24 cm, 20 lines per page, late *naskh*.

Date: 2 Bābah 1589 AM (= 11 October 1872 CE).

Scribe: Maqarīyūs Ghabryāl of Kōm Ashqāw

Bibliography: Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 95; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 80; GCAL 1: 108.

m *Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 48*

Contents: Genesis (1r–44v), Exodus (45r–81r), Leviticus (81r–105r), Numbers (106r–138r), Deuteronomy (139r–164r), Joshua (164r–181v), Judges (182r–210r), Ruth (210v–213r), 1–2 Samuel (213v–258v), 1–2 Kings (259r–303r), 1–2 Chronicles (303v–347v).

347 fols. Paper, 32 × 23 cm, 21 lines per page, late *naskh*.

Date: Fol. 347r, 21 Misrā AM 1500 (= 25h August 1784 CE)
Bibliography: Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens*, 89; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2: 52; *GCAL* 1: 108.

n *Aleppo, Collection Khadori*

Sbath (*al-Fihris*, No. 387) mentions another copy. Its present whereabouts are unknown.
Date: 1732/32 CE

o *Aleppo, Collection Basile*

Sbath (*al-Fihris*, No. 1444) mentions another copy. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

7 *Unidentified or Not Accessible*

a. Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 3289
b. Sinai, MS Ar. NF Parch. 15; see Meimaris, *Katalogos tōn neōn aravikōn*, 43
c. Sinai, MS Ar. 489
d. Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 4759; see Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, 2: 115–116; *GCAL* 1: 93
e. Cairo, COP, MS Bibl. 17
f. COP, MS Bibl. 30
g. COP, MS New 469
h. Dayr Abū Maqār, MS Bibl. 3; see Zanetti, *Les manuscrits*, 1
i. Dayr Abū Maqār, MS Bibl. 4; see Zanetti, *Les manuscrits*, 1
j. Istanbul, Topkapi, MS 3523; see Sayyid, *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt*, 1: 4
k. Istanbul, Topkapi, MS 3524; see Sayyid, *Fihris al-makhṭūṭāt*, 1: 4
l. Nikosia, Mahmud II library; see Roisse, "La circulation du savoir"
m. Saidanaya, MS 14; see *GCAL* 1: 108
n. Sharfeh, MS ½; see Armalet, *Catalogue of the Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts*, 2
o. Rome, Bibl. Angelica, MS Coptic 4; see Rhode, *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 28

Text Divisions

Arab^{Syr}2 and **Arab^{Syr}3** (see chapter 3.2) contain a text division into numerated *aṣḥāḥ*, reflecting their Syriac designation *ṣ^{e}ḥāḥe*. The system is commonly found in Peshiṭta manuscripts from the 9th century onwards.[14] It is absent in earlier manuscripts and

14 Unfortunately, the division was not discussed by the editors of Genesis and Exodus (1977) in the series of the Peshitta Institute, Leiden. A list of the chapters is found in the ensuing books (1991): Leviticus on xxviii, Numbers on xxii–xxii and Deuteronomy on xxii–xxiii.

seems to be related to the creation of a *textus receptus*. According to Brock, this division into numerated *aṣḥāḥ* was introduced by East-Syriac scribal circles of the 9th century, which also played a significant role in the standardization of the Syriac Pentateuch.[15] Only subsequently did it spread to the Syriac-Orthodox Church. Further evidence confirms his assumption. It is, for example, the division that was used by the East-Syriac convert ʿAlī ibn Rabban, active at the beginning of the 9th century (see Chapter 4.1). In his "Book of Religion and Empire" (*Kitāb al-dīn wa-l-dawla*), he habitually introduces biblical quotations according to this system. Diyarbakir, MS 22, an anonymous commentary on the Pentateuch dating to the 8th century and representative of East-Syriac exegesis, as well as the Bible commentary of the East-Syriac scholar Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (11th century), is arranged in the same way.[16] A full list of the *aṣḥāḥ* is as follows:

Genesis			
1:1–2:7	الاصحاح الاول	22:9b–24:9	الاصحاح الرابع عشر
2:8–3:19	الاصحاح الثاني	24:10–24:49	الاصحاح الخامس عشر
3:20–5:20	الاصحاح الثالث	24:50–25:28	الاصحاح السادس عشر
5:21–7:9	الاصحاح الرابع	25:29–27:5a	الاصحاح السابع عشر
7:10–9:7	الاصحاح الخامس	27:5b–28:5	الاصحاح الثامن عشر
9:8–10:32	الاصحاح السادس	28:6–29:30	الاصحاح التاسع عشر
11:1–12:13	الاصحاح السابع	29:31–30:40	الاصحاح العشرون
12:14–14:17	الاصحاح الثامن	30:41–31:42	الاصحاح الحادي والعشرون
14:18–16:16	الاصحاح التاسع	31:43–32:32	الاصحاح الثاني والعشرون
17:1–18:15	الاصحاح العاشر	33:1–34:24	الاصحاح الثالث والعشرون
18:16–19:17	الاصحاح الحادي عشر	34:25–36:8	الاصحاح الرابع والعشرون
19:18–20:18	الاصحاح الثاني عشر	36:9–37:11	الاصحاح الخامس والعشرون
21:1–22:9a	الاصحاح الثالث عشر	37:12–38:19	الاصحاح السادس والعشرون

15 See Brock, "Text History and Text Division, esp. 72. Apart from Brock's contribution, the topic of text division in the Peshiṭta has received hardly any attention.

16 MS Diyarbakir was edited and translated by Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode*. The chapter division is discussed there, vi–vii. For al-Ṭayyib's commentary, see Sanders, *Commentaire sur la Genèse.*

الاصحاح السابع والعشرون	38:20–40:8
الاصحاح الثامن والعشرون	40:9–41:37
الاصحاح التاسع والعشرون	41:38–42:28
الاصحاح الثلاثون	42:29–44:2
الاصحاح الحادي والثلاثون	44:3–45:20
الاصحاح الثاني والثلاثون	45:21–47:13
الاصحاح الثالث والثلاثون	47:14–48:22
الاصحاح الرابع والثلاثون	49:1–50:25

الاصحاح التاسع عشر	29:26–30:33
الاصحاح العشرون	30:34–32:24
الاصحاح الحادي والعشرون	32:25–34:7
الاصحاح الثاني والعشرون	34:8–35:19
الاصحاح الثالث والعشرون	35:20–36:30
الاصحاح الرابع والعشرون	36:31–38:14
الاصحاح الخامس والعشرون	38:15–39:24
الاصحاح السادس والعشرون	39:25–40:36

Exodus

الاصحاح الاول	1:1–2:25
الاصحاح الثاني	3:1–4:18
الاصحاح الثالث	4:19–6:9
الاصحاح الرابع	6:10–8:7
الاصحاح الخامس	8:8–9:21
الاصحاح السادس	9:22–10:29
الاصحاح السابع	11:1–12:30
الاصحاح الثامن	12:31–14:4
الاصحاح التاسع	14:5–15:21
الاصحاح العاشر	15:22–16:36
الاصحاح الحادي عشر	17:1–18:27
الاصحاح الثاني عشر	19:1–20:26
الاصحاح الثالث عشر	21:1–22:13
الاصحاح الرابع عشر	22:14–23:33
الاصحاح الخامس عشر	24:1–25:30
الاصحاح السادس عشر	25:31–26:37
الاصحاح السابع عشر	27:1–28:26
الاصحاح الثامن عشر	28:27–29:25

Leviticus

الاصحاح الاول	1:1–3:11
الاصحاح الثاني	3:12–4:55
الاصحاح الثالث	5:1–6:16
الاصحاح الرابع	6:17–7:38
الاصحاح الخامس	8:1–9:65
الاصحاح السادس	9:7–10:20
الاصحاح السابع	11:1–12:8
الاصحاح الثامن	13:1–13:37
الاصحاح التاسع	13:38–14:28
الاصحاح العاشر	14:29–15:5
الاصحاح الحادي عشر	15:6–16:10
الاصحاح الثاني عشر	16:11–17:12
الاصحاح الثالث عشر	17:13–19:14
الاصحاح الرابع عشر	19:15–20:21
الاصحاح الخامس عشر	20:22–22:16
الاصحاح السادس عشر	22:17–23:25
الاصحاح السابع عشر	23:26–24:23
الاصحاح الثامن عشر	25:1–25:43

الاصحاح التاسع عشر	25:47–26:38
الاصحاح العشرون	26:39–27:34

Numbers

الاصحاح الاول	1:1–1:54
الاصحاح الثاني	2:1–3:26
الاصحاح الثالث	3:27–4:20
الاصحاح الرابع	4:21–5:16
الاصحاح الخامس	5:17–6:27
الاصحاح السادس	7:1–8:22
الاصحاح السابع	8:23–10:21
الاصحاح الثامن	10:22–11:26
الاصحاح التاسع	11:27–13:30
الاصحاح العاشر	13:31–14:38
الاصحاح الحادي عشر	14:39–15:41
الاصحاح الثاني عشر	16:1–16:40
الاصحاح الثالث عشر	16:41–18:19
الاصحاح الرابع عشر	18:20–20:6
الاصحاح الخامس عشر	20:7–21:20
الاصحاح السادس عشر	21:21–22:35
الاصحاح السابع عشر	22:26–23:27
الاصحاح الثامن عشر	23:28–25:18
الاصحاح التاسع عشر	26:1–26:56
الاصحاح العشرون	26:57–28:15
الاصحاح الحادي والعشرون	28:16–29:34
الاصحاح الثاني والعشرون	29:35–31:24
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الاصحاح الثامن عشر	30:8–31:30
الاصحاح التاسع عشر	32:1–32:52
الاصحاح العشرون	33:1–34:12

Bibliography

Abbreviations:

EI²	Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition
JQR	The Jewish Quarterly Review
MGWJ	Die Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
OC	Oriens Christianus
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
REJ	Revue des Études Juives
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG	Zeitschriften der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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This work offers a seminal research into Arabic translations of the Pentateuch. It is no exaggeration to speak of this field as a terra incognita. Biblical versions in Arabic were produced over many centuries, on the basis of a wide range of source languages (Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, or Coptic), and in varying contexts. The textual evidence for this study is exclusively based on a corpus of about 150 manuscripts, containing the Pentateuch in Arabic or parts thereof.

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Ph.D. (2011), is Professor of Jewish Studies at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich. His research focuses on the Arabic versions of the Bible and biblical exegesis in the Arabic language, more broadly, medieval Christian- and Judaeo-Arabic literature.

"*Ronny Vollandt's Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch is without a doubt the most important study of the Bible in Arabic to appear in recent decades. He combines close textual study of the earliest Arabic version of the Pentateuch, translated from the Syriac Peshitta in the early ninth century CE, with a masterful overview of Arabic Bible translations in general and their importance for the history of the largely Jewish and Christian communities in which they were produced. The book is a ground-breaking contribution to a long neglected area of study that is crucial to the history of the relations between Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Vollandt prepares the way for future scholars of the Bible in Arabic in many ways, one of the most important of them being his careful listing and description of all the available manuscripts of the Pentateuch in Arabic translation, scattered in libraries around the world or available in digitized form. His method of analyzing the Arabic translators' technique of translation is masterful and sets a new standard for this exacting task, which, when well done, tells the historian much about the circumstances in synagogue or church life in which the translation was produced. Vollandt's Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch is a must-read for any future scholar who would study the Arabic translation of a biblical book and one hopes that his success will inspire a new generation to discover the joys and benefits of Arabic Bible research.*"
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